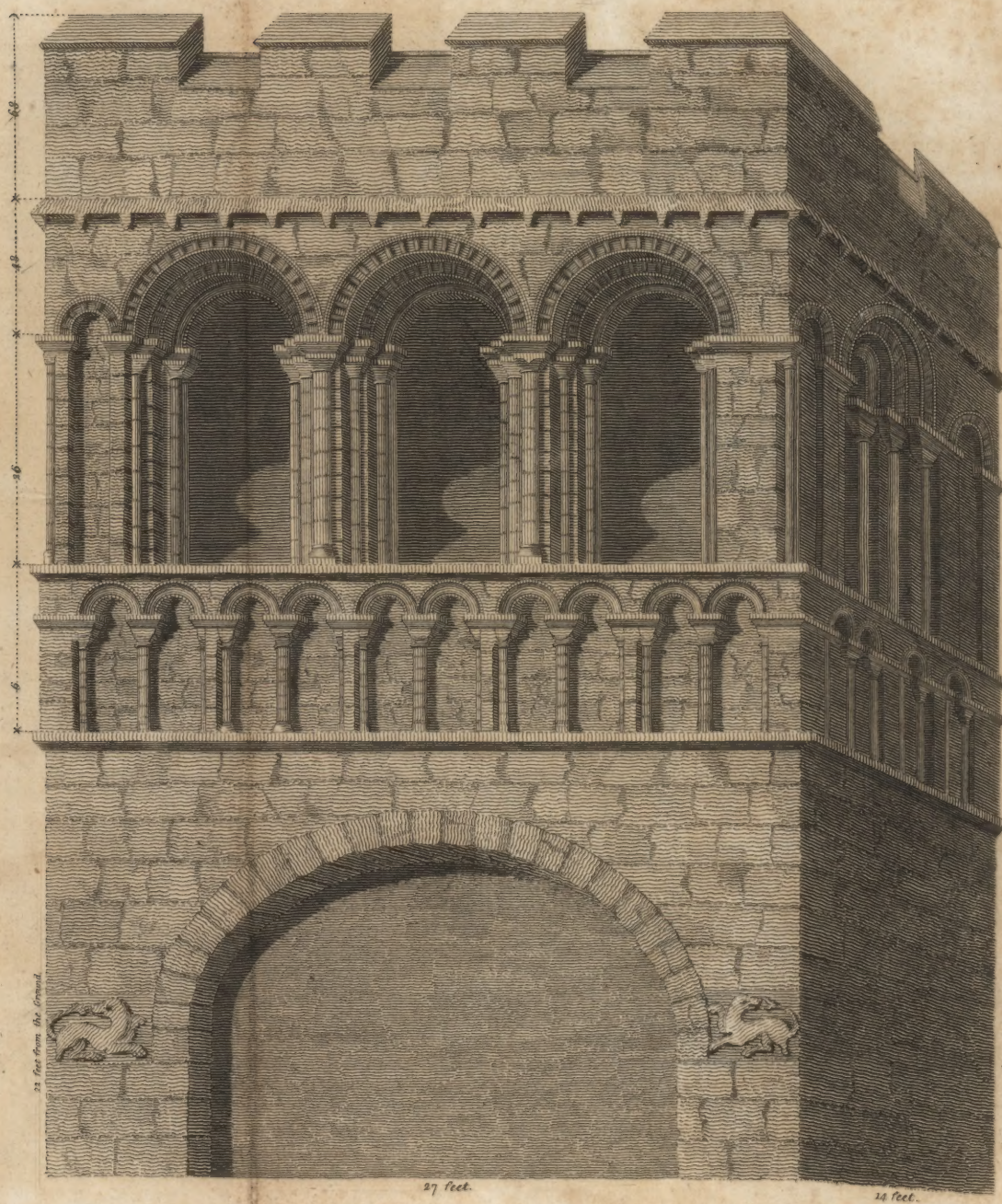


Bigods Tower, Norwich Castle.



ESSAYS
ON
GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE,

BY THE
REV. T. WARTON,
REV. J. BENTHAM,
CAPTAIN GROSE,
AND THE
REV. J. MILNER.
(WITH A LETTER TO THE PUBLISHER.)

ILLUSTRATED WITH
TEN PLATES OF ORNAMENTS, &c.

SELECTED FROM
Ancient Buildings;

CALCULATED
To exhibit the various Styles of different Periods.

———Et nos aliquod nomenque decusque
Geffimus— VIRGIL. *Æn. lib. ii.*

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1800.

ESSAYS

ON

GOLD AND ARCHITECTURE

BY THE

HON. T. W. RYAN

REV. J. LENTHAM

CAPTAIN GROSSE

AND THE

REV. J. MILLER

IN ANSWER TO THE

QUESTIONS

AND PLATES OF ORNAMENTS

AND

QUESTIONS

AND

QUESTIONS

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QUESTIONS

P R E F A C E.

THE want of a concise historical account of Gothic architecture has been a just cause of complaint: the subject is peculiarly interesting to every Englishman, as his country contains the best specimens of a style of building not unequal in grace, beauty, and ornament, to the most celebrated remains of Greece or Rome. This style of architecture may properly be called English architecture, for if it had not its origin in this country, it certainly arrived at maturity here; the science and taste of our forefathers being equally conspicuous with their piety and liberality. On this subject, England must be considered as a country, for it was under the Saxon dynasty this style of building was introduced, and under the Norman dynasty it received its ultimate degree of beauty and perfection.

To remedy this want of a convenient manual

on this interesting subject, it appeared best to collect what had been already said by several authors of celebrity, in detached works, and which had been received as authorities. In this view, the Rev. Mr. *Bentham's* Essay on Saxon and Norman Architecture, in his elaborate History of Ely Cathedral, stood foremost for selection, arrangement, and accurate discrimination of historical facts: next to this, Captain *Grose's* Preface on Architecture to his Antiquities of England is to be valued; which, although founded in a great degree on Mr. *Bentham's* opinions, yet contains some new points and authorities; in particular, his copious notes will be found very interesting, and containing nearly all that has been said by Sir *Christopher Wren* on the subject, which, being dispersed through many pages of the *Parentalia*, could not be given as a regular narrative. The concise history by Professor *Warton*, in his notes on Spenser's Fairy Queen, has received too much applause to be neglected; his words, though few, are important on the subject. To these the liberality of the Rev. Mr. *Milner* has allowed me to add, for the gratification of the public,

public, the History of the origin and progress of the pointed arch, lately published by that gentleman, in his learned work on the History and Antiquities of Winchester. He also has been pleased to superintend the selecting of the series of examples on Plates VIII. IX. and X. which tend strongly to corroborate the opinions he maintains.

This gentleman has further been pleased to address to me an important letter, which is given in this volume, in which the inquiring antiquary will find many hints worthy his deliberate attention, respecting an accurate classification of styles, characters, and facts, whereby to ascertain dates, and on which principle only can be accomplished that great desideratum, the adopting such terms and definitions as shall be applicable to the several characters, and which consequently may become of universal acceptance and usage. The anxious inquirer also is kindly guarded against certain errors which else he may be led into, in perusing the productions of the several celebrated pens now laid before him.

These Essays are arranged according to the
priority

priority of their publication, that whoever shall read the whole may receive the arguments in the chronological order wherein they have fallen from the pens of their several writers. They are also printed without any variation from the original texts : and to render this edition completely useful for reference, the pages of Mr. Bentham's quarto volume are retained in the work.

By rendering the laborious researches of these celebrated antiquaries on the ancient architecture of England easy of access, and at a small cost, it is hoped many persons who are anxious for information on this interesting subject, will be led to a higher relish for and more just ideas of a branch of antiquarian study peculiarly interesting to every Englishman, whether considered historically or nationally ; for though many persons eminent in the study of the arts may differ, as taste or fancy inclines them, respecting the inferior or superior grace and beauty of the Gothic or Grecian styles of architecture, yet few, very few, on entering the stupendous fabrics of our pious ancestors, but have felt and acknowledged their superior skill in producing
on

on the human mind those religious and sublime ideas fully correspondent with the intent of the structure.

It may be proper to say a word or two respecting the title of this volume, *Essays on Gothic Architecture*. In this instance, the word Gothic is used, being, as I conceive, at present more general and better understood than any other, when applied to our ancient architecture; and as the motive for this selection is general information, it appeared necessary to speak in language generally understood: at the same time it is much to be wished some term or terms more appropriate, and of general use, were adopted; which should convey correct ideas of this peculiar species of architecture. The term Gothic architecture does not occur in any of our ancient historians, it must therefore be of modern introduction; and it has been well conjectured by several eminent antiquaries was applied solely for the purpose of casting an opprobrious epithet on it, at the period of introducing the Greek or Roman style into this country; and when the ancient religion was to be exploded, so also was the ancient style of its sacred

sacred edifices : the more appropriate terms, I conceive, would be, to call that species of it distinguished by the circular arch, *Saxon*, and that distinguished by the pointed arch, *Norman*; for under the guidance of these nations did each principally display its grandeur and peculiarities. Mr. Milner has endeavoured with some skill to ascertain this point. There naturally will be much blending of characters in the period, before one style had completely taken the place of the other.

Having no desire to shine in borrowed plumes, it is necessary to say the subjects of the first six plates are chiefly selected from the delineations by Mr. Wilkins of Cambridge, as given by the learned Society of Antiquaries, in the 12th volume of their *Archæologia* : of the accuracy of these representations I have no doubt, and being taken from really ancient examples, they appear better calculated to convey correct ideas of the several ornaments and parts characteristic of the different periods and styles, than any inventions possibly could be; besides which, they are representations of so many existing specimens of antiquity, often exhibiting

exhibiting much more than the mere part referred to. The print of Bigod's tower is given to show entire a beautiful example of the ancient circular arch, or Saxon style, and that of the tower of York cathedral, to show, in contrast, a beautiful example of the more modern pointed arch, or Norman style.

It may be of use to observe, that whoever wishes to see a large assortment of both Saxon and Norman ornaments will have much pleasure in examining the volume of *Archæologia*, whence these were taken. Many also of the buildings referred to as authorities in the following *Essays* may be found delineated in Mr. Carter's publication on the ancient architecture of England; a work of great research and industry, in which the skill and taste of our ancient builders will be handed down to posterity in defiance of the destroying hands of time, or modern innovators. The elegant plates of the *Ornaments of York Cathedral*, by Mr. Halfpenny, afford a great variety of curious and elegant examples of ornaments in the florid style, accurately displayed, and selected with taste. Of the same kind is the work of *Specimens*

cimens of Gothic Ornaments, selected from the Church of Lavenham in Suffolk. Mr. Murphy's publication of the Plans, Elevations, &c. of the Monastery of Batalha in Portugal, will afford many accurate and interesting examples, and much important information to the inquiring antiquary.

The selection here presented, it is hoped, will be found fully sufficient to illustrate the subject, and give clear ideas of the parts and their peculiarities, as referred to by the several writers. Thus, with an ordinary degree of attention, it is hoped every person may obtain clear notions on this subject, who perhaps would not have bought, or even examined, the bulky and costly works whence this little volume has been extracted; if so, it may be hoped the mite of labour will not have been bestowed in vain.

J. T.

OBSERV-

OBSERVATIONS

ON

*The Means necessary for further illustrating the
Ecclesiastical Architecture of the middle Ages,*

IN A LETTER FROM THE

REV. JOHN MILNER, M.A. F.S.A. TO MR. TAYLOR.

SIR,

I CONGRATULATE the Public on your attempt to elucidate the architecture of the middle ages, by the collection of Essays which you are about to publish on this subject ; and I cannot refrain from pointing out to those antiquaries, who, like myself, delight in this branch of their science, certain matters, which seem to me particularly deserving of their attention, for promoting its progress, for fixing it on clear and sure principles, and for furnishing artists with rules to go by when constructing and repairing works in the style in question.

The first requisite for the better illustration of this subject is, that those persons who treat of it should come to a right understanding, and agree in the use of the same terms for convey-

ing the same ideas relative to it. In proof of the confusion which still prevails on this subject among men who are most conversant with it, I may refer to these Essays, in one of which the celebrated cathedral of Salisbury is declared to be, not properly a Gothic structure^a, while in two others it is as positively asserted to be entirely Gothic^b. Again, one of these eminent authors testifies, that "some writers call all our ancient architecture, without any distinction of round or pointed arches, Gothic; though of late," he adds, "the fashion has been to apply the term solely to the latter^c." The other has much the same observation^d; and they both agree in condemning the opprobrious term *Gothic*, as applied to that "light, neat, and elegant form of building, with arches pointed, and pillars small and slender^e," which, in fact, was not invented until about 600 years after

^a "The style which succeeded to this (the Saxon) was not the absolute *Gothic*, or Gothic simply so called, but a sort of *Gothic Saxon*, in which the pure *Saxon* began to receive some tincture of the *Saracen* fashion.—In this style is Salisbury cathedral." Warton's Essay, p. 4, 5.

^b "The cathedral of Salisbury consists entirely of that style which is now called (though I think improperly) *Gothic*." Bentham's Essay, p. 73. "The present cathedral of Salisbury is entirely in the Gothic style." Grose's Essay, p. 116.

^c Bentham's Essay, p. 74, 75.

^d Grose's Essay, p. 95.

^e Bentham, p. 73, 74.

the Goths disappeared from the theatre of the world. Finally, they all describe the Saxon and the Norman styles as agreeing in their form and differing only in their dimensions^f; whereas some ingenious and respectable writers of the present day, by way of exploding the term *Gothic*, make use of the word *Norman*, to signify the pointed style; the consequence of which must be, a certain degree of confusion not only among readers, but among writers also, while a term that so frequently occurs is used in a contradistinguished sense from that which these eminent writers seem to have affixed to it. My present object, Sir, is merely to suggest the necessity of an agreement in the use of scientific language, and not to dictate the conditions. However, I cannot help saying, that when I speak of the Saxon and Norman manner, and when I call the elegant style which is improperly named Gothic by the term of the *pointed style*, and when I speak of these together under the generical appellation of the *architecture of the middle ages*, I flatter myself I am clearly understood by every person with whom I communicate by writing, or by speaking, and that the subjects themselves are characteristically denominated.

^f Warton, p. 4. Bentham, p. 61, 62, 63, 64. Grose, p. 100.

The next point which, I think, requires to be clearly ascertained amongst architectural antiquaries is, the true origin of the pointed style. I have already exposed in part the absurdity and contradictions into which those persons fall who derive it from the Goths and Vandals of the North, or from the Saracens of the East, or, finally, from the Moors of the West, rather than admit our own ancestors were capable of inventing it. I shall farther observe, that whatsoever has been advanced in support of any one of these systems, is the produce of mere conjecture, without a shadow of any kind of historical evidence. For example, we no where read of any architect from Arabia, Morocco, or Spain, arriving in England, France, or Italy, to teach the inhabitants how to construct their churches: nor do we hear of any Englishman, Frenchman, or Italian, that ever travelled into those countries in order, to learn architecture. But we find, on the other hand, such an emulation amongst the prelates and princes of the times in question, in our own and the neighbouring countries, but chiefly in our own, to outvie each other in the magnificence and beauty of their buildings; particularly of the ecclesiastical kind; and such encouragement held out to architects and artists of this country, that it would be extraordinary

if these were productive of no new inventions or improvements in the various branches of architecture. In a word, Sir, I think it plain, that even Mr. Warton, who follows Sir Christopher Wren's confused and prejudiced account of this matter^s, confutes his own system whilst he demonstrates, as Bentham and Grose also do, the slow and regular degrees by which this species of architecture rose up and attained to perfection amongst ourselves, instead of being imported in any regular shape from a foreign country. Lastly, Sir, I flatter myself that the Essay which you have honoured with insertion in the present collection, taken from my *History*

^s To show how ill informed this celebrated architect was in the history of the structures of the middle ages, I may remind the learned reader of his ascribing the building of St. Cross and Winchester cathedral to the Saxons "before the Conquest," p. 60; likewise of his denying the said people the use of glass for their windows, *ibid.*: and ascribing the invention of tracery work to the necessity there was "of disposing the mullions for the better fixing in of glass," which, he says, then, viz. at the end of the thirteenth century, "began to be used in windows," p. 105, 14. See also p. 32. Finally, to prove the confusion of his ideas on this subject, I may mention, that he himself ascribes the invention of the pointed order to the Arabian Mahometans, when they overturned a great part of the Eastern empire, and began to build their mosques and caravanseries, in the seventh and eighth centuries, p. 104; and that he nevertheless cites Mr. Evelyn in support of his system, who asserts, that this same "fantastical, light species of building," as he is pleased to call it, "was introduced by the Goths and Vandals of the North, when they subverted the Western empire two centuries earlier!" p. 106.

and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, places this fact in a new and still clearer light, while it shows how the successive members and ornaments of this style of architecture grew out of others which preceded them, and that the adoption of the pointed arch was, as it were, the parent germ which produced the whole system.

A most curious and interesting fact, however, in my opinion, for the investigation of architectural antiquaries, is, to ascertain the true principles of *the Sublime and Beautiful*, as applied to those sacred fabrics which are the undoubted masterpieces and glory of the pointed order. It is in vain that Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Evelyn, who are cited in the notes, page 106, stigmatize these structures, as being "congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, monkish piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty." For it is confessedly true, that every man who has an eye to see, and a soul to feel, on entering into York minster and chapter-house, or into King's college or Windsor chapel, or into the cathedrals of Lincoln or Winchester, is irresistibly struck with mingled impressions of awe and pleasure, which no other buildings are capable of producing; and however he may approve of the Grecian architecture for the purposes of civil and social life, yet he instinctively experiences in the former a frame of
mind

mind that fits him for prayer and contemplation, which all the boasted regularity and magnificence of Sir Christopher's and the nation's pride, I mean St. Paul's cathedral, cannot communicate, at least in the same degree.

To explain in detail the principles on which the above-mentioned effects are produced, would be to describe the whole structure of an ancient cathedral; and, at the same time, to form the best panegyric on the architects who raised them. This, however, it is not my present intention to do, but merely to enumerate a few of these principles which are more obvious. In the first place, then, it is well known that height and length are amongst the primary sources of *the Sublime*^h: it is equally agreed that these are the proportions which our ancient architects chiefly affected in their religious structures. But besides the real effect of these proportions, which were generally carried as far as they were capable of, the mind was farther impressed by an artificial height and length, which were the natural produce of the style employed. For the aspiring form of the pointed arches, the lofty pediments, and the tapering pinnacles with which our cathedrals are adorned, contribute perhaps still more to give an idea of

^h See Burke's *Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful*.

height than their real elevation. In like manner, the perspective of uniform columns, ribs, and arches, repeated at equal distances, as they are seen in the isles of those fabrics, produces an artificial infinite in the mind of the spectatorⁱ, when the same extent of plain surface would perhaps hardly affect it at all^k; for a similar reason, I think the effect of the ancient cathedrals is greatly helped by the variety of their constituent parts and ornaments, though I suppose them all to be executed in one uniform style. The eye is quickly fatiated by any object, however great and magnificent, which it can take in all at once, as the mind is with what it can completely comprehend; but when the former, having wandered through the intricate and interminable length of a pointed vault in an

ⁱ See Burke's *Treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful*.

^k This observation on the artificial infinite does not apply to the modern practice of destroying the altar-screen of cathedrals, and taking the Lady chapel into the grand perspective of them. For, first, a vista, by being too long drawn, destroys its proper effect, as Burke proves. Secondly, it is essential that the objects of sight, which are repeated for the above-mentioned purpose, should be uniform in their appearance; otherwise the illusion is destroyed, and intellectual disorder and pain ensues, instead of pleasure. Now this inevitably happens in the case under consideration, where the eye, shooting down the vista, perceives the great columns and lofty arches of the nave shrink all at once into the slender shafts and low vaulting of the said Lady chapel. See a work on this subject, entitled, *A Dissertation on the modern Style of altering ancient Cathedrals*. Nichols.

ancient cathedral, discovers two parallel lines of equal length and richness with it; then proceeding, it discovers the transepts, the side chapels, the choir, the sanctuary, and the Lady chapel, all equally interesting for their design and execution, and all of them calculated for different purposes: the eye, I say, is certainly much more entertained, and the mind more dilated and gratified, than can possibly be effected by any single view, even though our modern architects should succeed in their attempts to make one entire sweep of the contents of a cathedral, to show it all at a single view, and to make one vast empty room of the whole.

It is not necessary for me to dwell upon the effect of that solemn gloom which reigns in these venerable structures, from the studied exclusion of too glaring a light, or upon that glowing effect produced by appropriate painting and carving in the windows, or other parts of them, or upon the essential beauty and just proportions in which they are raised, where the infinite variety of ribs, arches, bosses, and other ornaments, all grow out of the main columns, with the regularity of Nature in the vegetable kingdom, and also with her wise contrivance to combine strength with beauty; I say, it is not necessary for me to dwell upon these points, because, however they may be carped at by interested

interested men, they are obvious of themselves, and admitted by all persons of candour and sentiment. There is one circumstance, however, to which these venerable structures are indebted for the impression they make, that is not so evident at first sight, and which therefore I here mention, namely, the arrangement and disposition of their several parts, in due subordination to that which is their principal member; by which means that unity of design so necessary in every composition is maintained in them. This principal member in our cathedral churches is the choir and sanctuary, destined for the performance of the service and mysteries of religion: and all the other portions of the sacred fabric will be found subservient, and as it were converging, to this, as to their centre. On the same account, the most exquisite productions of art, and the greatest profusion of wealth, were uniformly bestowed on this particular part. We may judge from hence what must be the effect of destroying the altar-screen of a cathedral, and removing the altar itself, according to a modern instance, under an idea of improving its appearance. It is like removing the head from the human figure, or placing it on some other member, for the purpose of increasing its beauty.

Lastly, as there are different periods or fashions

fhions in pointed architecture, it is worthy the attention of the curious antiquary, to distribute these subjects of his study into their proper classes, and to determine the respective merits of each class or fashion. The late poet laureat has divided the architecture in question into the *absolute* Gothic, the *ornamental* Gothic, and the *florid* Gothic¹. I do not find fault with this division, but I am by no means satisfied with the application of it. For, not to mention other objections, we have seen that this author excludes by name, the beautiful and highly pointed cathedral of Salisbury from holding a place in any of his classes. Now, so far from there being ground for such an exclusion, I think it admits of a question, whether that species of early pointed architecture in which this cathedral and that of Lincoln, also the abbey churches of Westminster, Beaulieu, Lettley^m, and other sacred edifices, were constructed, from the first invention of that style down to its enlargement in the reign of Edward I. was, upon the whole, exceeded at any later period. In case, however, we admit the tracery work, which was invented about the latter period, and with which the cathedrals of York and Winchester are adorned, to be a considerable

¹ Pages 4, 5. 8.

^m Vulgarly and improperly called Netley Abbey.

improvement upon the former chaste and simple fashion, yet I cannot by any means agree that the gorgeous or florid style, as Warton calls it, which began in the reign of Henry VI. and continued until the explosion of the pointed order under Henry VIII. was, upon a thorough comparison, more excellent than that kind which had immediately preceded it. I grant, there is a greater profusion of ornament, and generally more exquisite workmanship, for example, in the chapels of King's college, of Windfor and of Henry VII. than in the two last mentioned cathedrals; the same may be said of Fox's chantry, compared with that of Wykeham; but I maintain that what was gained to our ecclesiastical structures after the middle of the fifteenth century in beauty, was lost in sublimity; which latter quality, I have intimated, forms their proper character. This falling off in sacred architecture is principally to be attributed to the lowering of the pointed arch, which then began to prevail. The first arches of this order in the reigns of Henry I. Stephen, and Henry II. were exceedingly rude and irregular, sometimes forming the most acute and sometimes the most obtuse angle that can well be conceived; but when the style was further improved under Henry III. and the three Edwards, it was discovered that the most beautiful

ful and perfect kind of pointed arch was that which was formed by segments of a circle, including an equilateral triangle, from the imposts to the crown of the arch; accordingly, this proportion was generally followed down to the aforesaid period; when the architects and artists, being more anxious about their own reputation than the proper effect of the structure, began to lower the arches as much as possible, and in some cases to invert them, in order to bring the fans, pendants, and other curious or surprising ornaments, with which they loaded the vaulting, within the compass of the spectator's distinct sight.

If these hasty remarks upon a subject which, treated as a science, may still be considered as almost new, have the effect of exciting persons who are better qualified than myself for the undertaking, to do more complete justice to it, I shall at all events think them well bestowed, and shall be enabled to say with more truth than Horace did,

Fungar vice cotis, acutum

Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.

De Art. Poetica.

I remain, SIR,

Your faithful servant,

JOHN MILNER.

Winchester,
Feb. 15, 1800.

ESSAYS
ON
GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

REV. THOMAS WARTON'S ESSAY*.

— Did arise
On stately pillours framd afer the Doricke guise.

ALTHOUGH the Roman or Grecian architecture did not begin to prevail in England till the time of Inigo Jones, yet our communication with the Italians, and our imitation of their manners, produced some specimens of that style much earlier: perhaps the earliest is Somerset house in the Strand, built about the year 1549, by the duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI.

* Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, edit. 1762, vol. ii. page 184.

The monument of bishop Gardiner in Winchester cathedral made in the reign of Mary, about 1555, is decorated with Ionic pillars. Spenser's verses here quoted bear an allusion to some of these fashionable improvements in building, which, at this time, were growing more and more into esteem. Thus, also, bishop Hall, who wrote about the same time, viz. 1598 :

There findest thou some stately Doricke frame,
Or neat Ionicke worke. B. v. f. 2.

But these ornaments were often absurdly introduced into the old Gothic style ; as in the magnificent portico of the Schools at Oxford, erected about the year 1613, where the builder, in a Gothic edifice, has affectedly displayed his universal skill in the modern architecture by giving us all the five orders together. However, most of the great buildings of queen Elizabeth's reign have a style peculiar to themselves, both in form and finishing ; where, though much of the old Gothic is retained, and great part of the new taste is adopted, yet neither predominates ; while both, thus indistinctly blended, compose a fantastic species hardly reducible to any class or name. One of its characteristics is the affectation of large and lofty windows, where,

says Bacon, "you shall have sometimes faire houses so full of glasse that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun, &c." *Essays*, xii.

After what has been here incidentally said on this subject, it may not be amiss to trace it higher, and to give some observations on the beginning and progressive state of architecture in England, down to the reign of Henry VIII.; a period, in which, or thereabouts, the true Gothic style is supposed to have expired.

The Normans, at the Conquest, introduced arts and civility. The churches before this were of timber, or otherwise of very mean construction. The Conqueror imported a more magnificent though not a different plan, and erected several stately churches and castles^d. He built more than thirty monasteries, among which were the noble abbies of Battel and Selby. He granted a charter to Mauritius, bishop of London, for rebuilding St. Paul's church with stone brought out of Normandy. He built the White tower in the Tower of London. The style then used consisted of round arches, round-headed windows, and round massy pillars, with a sort of regular capital and

^d Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, NOVO EDIFICANDI GENERE exsurgere." Will. Malmesbur. *Rex Willhelmus*, de Gest. Reg. Ang. lib. iii. p. 57. fol. Lond. 1596, ed. Savil.

base, being an adulteration or a rude imitation of the genuine Grecian or Roman manner. This has been named the Saxon style, being the national architecture of our Saxon ancestors before the Conquest: for the Normans only extended its proportions and enlarged its scale. But I suppose at that time it was the common architecture of all Europe. Of this style many specimens remain: the transept of Winchester cathedral, built 1080; the two towers of Exeter cathedral, 1112; Christ Church cathedral at Oxford, 1180; the nave of Gloucester cathedral, 1100; with many others. The most complete monuments of it I can at present recollect are, the church of St. Cross near Winchester, built by Henry de Blois, 1130; and the abbey church at Rumsley in Hampshire: especially the latter, built by the same princely benefactor. Another evidence of this style is a circular series of zig-zag sculpture applied as a facing to porticos and other arches. The style which succeeded to this was not the absolute *Gothic*, or Gothic simply so called, but a sort of *Gothic Saxon*, in which the pure *Saxon* began to receive some tincture of the *Saracen* fashion. In this the massy round column became split into a cluster of agglomerated pilasters, preserving a base and capital as before; and the short round-headed window was lengthened into a narrow oblong form.

form, with a pointed top, in every respect much in the shape of a lancet; often decorated in the inside with slender pillars. These windows we frequently find three together, the centre one being higher than the two lights on each side. This style commenced about 1200. Another of its marks is a series of small, low, and close arch-work, sometimes with a pointed head, placed on outside fronts for a finishing, as in the west end of Lincoln and Rochester cathedrals, and in the end of the southern transept of that of Canterbury. In this style, to mention no more, is Salisbury cathedral. Here we find indeed the pointed arch, and the angular though simple vaulting; but still we have not, in such edifices of the improved or SAXON *Gothic*, the ramified window, one distinguishing characteristic of the absolute *Gothic*^e. It is difficult to define these gradations; but still harder to explain conjectures of this kind in writing, which require ocular demonstration and a conversation on the spot to be clearly proved and illustrated.

The ABSOLUTE *Gothic*, or that which is free from all *Saxon* mixture, began with ramified windows of an enlarged dimension, divided into several lights, and branched out at the top into a multiplicity of whimsical shapes and

^e They then seem to have had no idea of a GREAT *eastern* or *western* window.

compartments, after the year 1300. The cru-
fades had before dictated the pointed arch, which
was here still preserved; but, besides the alter-
ation in the windows, fantastic capitals to the
columns, and more ornament in the vaulting
and other parts, were introduced. Of this fa-
shion the body of Winchester cathedral, built
by that munificent encourager of all public
works, William of Wykeham, about the year
1390, will afford the justest idea. But a taste
for a more ornamental style had for some time
before begun to discover itself. This appears
from the choir of St. Mary's church at War-
wick, begun^f, at least, before Wykeham's
improvements at Winchester, and remarkable
for a freedom and elegance unknown before.
That certain refinements in architecture began
to grow fashionable early in the reign of Ed-
ward III. perhaps before, we learn from Chau-
cer's description of the structure of his *House of
Fame*:

And eke the hall and everie boure,
Without peeces or joynings,
But many subtell compassings
As habenries and pinnacles,
Imageries and tabernacles,
I sawe, and full eke of windowes^g.

^f Viz. 1341; finished before 1395. Dugdale's War-
wickshire, p. 345.

B. iii. fol. 267. col. 2. edit. Speght.

And

And afterwards,

I needeth not you more to tellen,

* * * * *

Of these yates flourishing,

Ne of compases ne of carvings,

Ne how the hacking in masonries,

As corbetts and imageries^h.

And in an old poem, called *Pierce the Plowman's Creede*, written perhaps before Chaucer's, where the author is describing an abbey-church:

Than I munte me forth the MINSTRE for to knowen.

And awayted a woon, wonderly well ybild;

With arches on everich half, and bellyche ycorven

With crochetes on corneres, with knottes of gold.

Wyd windlowes ywrought, ywritten full thicke.

* * * * *

Tombes upon tabernacles, tyld opon loft,

Housed in hornes, harde sett abouten

Of armed alabaustre.—

These innovations at length were most beautifully displayed in the roof of the divinity school at Oxford, which began to be built 1427. The university, in their letters to Kempe bishop of London quoted by Woodⁱ, speak of this edifice as one of the miracles of the age: they mention particularly, “*Ornamenta ad naturalis cœli imaginem variis picturis, subtilique artifi-*

^h B. iii. fol. 267, verso. col. 2.

ⁱ Hist. Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 22.

cio, cælata; valvarum singularissima opera: turricularum apparatus, &c." Yet even here there is nothing of that minute finishing which afterwards appeared; there is still a massiness, though great intricacy and variety. About the same time the collegiate church of Fotheringay in Northamptonshire was designed; and we learn from the orders^k of Henry VI. delivered to the architect, how much their notions in architecture were improved. The ORNAMENTAL *Gothic* at length received its confirmation about 1441, in the chapel of the same King's college at Cambridge^l. Here strength united with ornament, or substance with elegance, seems to have ceased. Afterwards what I would call the FLORID *Gothic* arose, the first considerable appearance of which was in the chapel of St. George at Windsor, begun by Edward IV. about 1480^m; and which, lastly, was completed in the superb chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster.

The FLORID *Gothic* distinguishes itself by an exuberance of decoration, by roofs where the most delicate fretwork is expressed in stone, and by a certain lightness of finishing, as in the

^k In Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii. p. 163.

^l It was not finished till some years after; but a description and plan of the intended fabric may be seen in the king's will. Stowe's *Annals*, by Howes, 1614, p. 479, seq.

^m *Ashmole's Order of the Garter*, sect. ii. chap. 4. p. 136.

roof of the choir of Gloucesterⁿ, where it is thrown like a web of embroidery over the old Saxon vaulting. Many monumental shrines, so well calculated, on account of the smallness of their plan, to admit a multiplicity of delicate ornaments highly finished, afford exquisite specimens of this style. The most remarkable one I can recollect is that of bishop Fox at Winchester; which, before it was stripped of its images and the painted glass^o which filled part of its present open-work, must have been a most beautiful spectacle. How quickly tomb-architecture improved in this way may be seen by two sumptuous shrines in the same church, which stand opposite each other; those of bishop Waynflete and cardinal Beaufort. The bishop's is evidently constructed in imitation of the cardinal's; but, being forty years later, is infinitely richer in the variegation of its fretted roof, and the profusion of its ornamented spire-

ⁿ About the year 1470. The words of the inscription on the inside of the arch by which we enter the choir are remarkable:

Hoc quod DIGESTUM specularis, opusque POLITUM,
Tullii hæc ex onere Seabrooke abbate jubente.

The tower was built at the same time. The lady's chapel soon after, about 1490.

^o It was broke and destroyed by the Presbyterians 1643, as appears by a passage in *Mercurius Rusticus*, p. 214. It is not commonly known or observed that this shrine was thus curiously glazed.

work.

work^{p.} The screen behind the altar in the same cathedral, built 1525, far superior to that at St. Albans, is also a striking pattern of this workmanship. We have some episcopal thrones highly executed in this taste. Such is that at Wells, built by bishop Beckington, 1450; and that at Exeter, by bishop Boothe, who succeeded to the see, 1466. The first is of wood, painted and gilded; the latter is likewise of wood, but painted in imitation, and has the effect, of stone. They are both very lofty and light. Most of the churches in Somersetshire, which are remarkably elegant, are in the style of the *FLORID Gothic*. The reason is this: Somersetshire, in the civil wars between York and Lancaster, was strongly and entirely attached to the Lancastrian party. In reward for this service, Henry VII. when he came to the crown, rebuilt their churches. The tower of Gloucester cathedral, and the towers of the churches of Taunton and Glastonbury, and of a parochial church at Wells, are conspicuous examples of this fashion. Most of the churches of this reign are known,

^p Waynflete died 1486. How greatly tomb-architecture, within 150 years, continued to alter, appears from an expression in Berthelette's preface to his edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, 1554: "Gower prepared for his bones a restynge place in the monasterie of St. Marie Overee, where, somewhat after the OLD FASHION, he lieth right sumptuously buried." Gower died 1402.

besides

besides other distinctions, by latticed battlements, and broad open windows. In this style Henry VIII. built the palace of Nonsuch^a; and cardinal Wolfey, Hampton Court, Whitehall, Christ church in Oxford, and the tomb-house at Windsor.

I cannot more clearly recapitulate or illustrate what has been said, than by observing, that the seals of our English monarchs, from the reign of Henry III. display the taste of architecture which respectively prevailed under several subsequent reigns; and consequently convey, as at one comprehensive view, the series of its successive revolutions; insomuch that if no real models remained, they would be sufficient to show the modes and alterations of building in England^r. In these each king is represented sitting enshrined amid a sumptuous pile of architecture. Henry III. 1259, appears seated amidst an assemblage of arches of the round Saxon form^s. So are his successors Edward I. and II. Edward III. 1330, is the first whose seal exhibits pointed Saracen arches; but those, of his first seal at least^t, are extremely simple.

^a See a cut of its front, perhaps the only representation of it extant, in Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, 1614, fol. p. 11. Map of Surrey. In the same is a cut of Richmond palace, built by Henry VII.

^r See Speed's History, &c. fol. London, 1627.

^s See his second seal, Speed, p. 547.

^t See his second seal, Speed, p. 584.

In the seals of Richard II. 1378, and his successor Henry IV. we find Gothic arches of a more complicated construction. At length the seal of Henry V. 1412, is adorned with a still more artificial fabric. And lastly, in the seals of Edward V. Richard III. and Henry VII. we discern a more open, and less pointed Gothic.

I subjoin some general observations. The towers in Saxon cathedrals were not always intended for bells; they were calculated to produce the effect of the louver, or open lantern, in the inside; and, on this account, were originally continued open almost to the covering. It is generally supposed that the tower of Winchester cathedral, which is remarkably thick and short, was left as the foundation for a projected spire; but this idea never entered into the plan of the architect. Nearly the whole inside of this tower was formerly seen from below; and for that reason, its side arches or windows, of the first story at least, are artificially wrought and ornamented. With this sole effect in view, the builder saw no necessity to carry it higher. An instance of this visibly subsists at present in the inside of the tower of the neighbouring Saxon church of St. Cross, built about the same time. The same effect was first designed at Salisbury; where, for the same purpose solely,
was

was a short tower, the end of which is easily discerned by critical observers; being but little higher than the roof of the church, and of less refined workmanship than that additional part on which the present spire is constructed. Many other examples might be pointed out. This gave the idea for the beautiful lanterns at Peterborough and Ely.

Spires were never used till the *Saracen* mode took place. I think we find none before 1200. The spire of old St. Paul's was finished 1221ⁿ. That of Salisbury, as appears from a late survey^x, and other proofs, was not included in the plan of the builder, and was raised many years after the church was completed: the spire of Norwich cathedral about 1278^y. Sir Christopher Wren informs us, that the architects of this period "thought height the greatest magnificence. Few stones," adds he, "were used but what a man might carry up a ladder on his back from scaffold to scaffold, though they had pullies and spoked wheels upon occasion; but having rejected cornices, they had no need of great engines. Stone upon stone was easily piled up to great heights; therefore the

ⁿ Dugdale's St. Paul's, p. 12.

^x Survey, &c. by Price.

^y Willis's Mitr. Abb. vol. i. p. 279.

pride of their work was in pinnacles and steeples. The *Gothic* way carried all their mouldings perpendicular; so that they had nothing else to do but to spire up all they could." He adds, "they affected steeples, though the *Saracens* themselves used cupolas²." But with submission to such an authority, I cannot help being of opinion, that, though the *Saracens* themselves used cupolas, the very notion of a spire was brought from the East, where pyramidal structures were common, and spiral ornaments were the fashionable decorations of their mosques, as may be seen to this day. What the same celebrated artist immediately subjoins, that the use of glass introduced mullions into windows, is very probable; at least it contributed to multiply the ramifications; especially the use of painted glass: where the different stainings were by this means shown to better advantage, and different stories and figures required separate compartments.

Soon after the year 1200 they began, in England, to cover the façades; or west ends of cathedrals, with niches and rows of statues large as the life. The first example of this kind is, I think, at Salisbury; for that of Litchfield is

² Wren's Parentalia, p. 305.

too rich to be of equal antiquity^a. The west end of Wells cathedral was perhaps intended to vie with that of Salisbury, in the same decorations; being in a bordering county, and erected after it, 1402^b. It is in fine preservation, and exhibits a curious specimen of the state of statuary at that time. The west front of Exeter, adorned in this taste by bishop Grandison, 1340, is far inferior to any of the other three. That of the abbey church at Bath is light and elegant, but is much more modern than those I have mentioned, being begun and finished but a few years before the dissolution of the abbey^c.

These hasty remarks are submitted to the candour of the curious by one who, besides other defects which render him disqualified for such a disquisition, is but little acquainted with the terms and principles of architecture.

^a It was built at least before 1400. For the spire of St. Michael's church in Coventry, finished about 1395, is manifestly a copy of the style of its two spires. Salisbury church was begun in 1217, and finished in 1256.

^b This date is on the authority of Willis, *Mitr. Abb.* vol. ii. p. 375.

^c The whole church was rebuilt in the time of the two last priors, after 1500. Leland, *Itin.* vol. ii. The abbey was dissolved 1534.

REV. JAMES BENTHAM'S

Historical Remarks on the Saxon Churches.

HAVING, in the preceding chapters^a, taken a summary view of the first reception of the gospel in Britain, its state and decline, to the utter subversion of it; and also the re-establishment of Christianity in these parts, by the conversion of the Saxons; it may not be improper to say something of the places made use of by the Saxons for their public worship, and to inquire into the ground of a notion that has often prevailed, that their churches were generally timber buildings, or, if of stone, with upright walls only, without any beauty or elegance; and that as to the constructing of arches and vaultings of stone, and supporting them with columns, they understood nothing of it.

^a This is the Fifth Section, page 15, in Mr. Bentham's History of the Cathedral Church of Ely, 1771.

That all references to this Essay may be readily found in this edition, the pages of the original are given in crotchets.

This mean opinion of Saxon architecture, and want of elegance in their churches, though it be countenanced by several passages in Mr. Somner's book of the Antiquities of Canterbury^b; and his authority for it is frequently cited by modern writers on that subject^c; without any marks of disapprobation or censure; yet as it appears to me to be without any manner of foundation, I shall beg leave to inquire into the truth of what Mr. Somner has advanced on that subject. His words are these: "Indeed it is observed, that before the Norman advent most of our monasteries and church-buildings were of wood: 'All the monasteries 'of my realm,' saith king Edgar, in his charter to the abbey of Malmesbury^d, dated in the year of Christ 974, 'to the sight are nothing 'but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards.' And that upon the Norman conquest such timber fabrics grew out of use, and gave place to stone buildings raised upon arches; a form of structure introduced by that nation, furnished with stone from Caen in Normandy. 'In the

^b P. 8. 86. 93.

^c Staveley on Churches, p. 103. 146. Ornaments of Churches considered, p. 88. Remarks on Gothic Architecture, by Mr. Warton, in his Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen, vol. ii. p. 185, 186.

^d Wilkins Concil. vol. i. p. 260.

‘ year 1087 (Stow’s words of the cathedral of
 ‘ London^e) this church of St. Paul was burnt
 ‘ with fire, and therewith most part of the
 ‘ city: Mauritius then bishop began, therefore,
 ‘ the new foundation of a new church of St.
 ‘ Paul; a work that men of that time judged
 ‘ would never have been finished, it was to
 ‘ them so wonderful for length and breadth;
 ‘ [16] as also the same was builded upon arches
 ‘ (or vaults) of stone, for defence of fire; which
 ‘ was a manner of work before that time un-
 ‘ known to the people of this nation, and then
 ‘ brought from the French, and the stone was
 ‘ fetcht from Caen in Normandy.’—‘ St. Mary
 ‘ Bow church in London being built much about
 ‘ the same time and manner, that is, on arches
 ‘ of stone, was therefore called (saith the same
 ‘ author^f) New Mary church, or St. Mary-le-
 ‘ Bow; as Stratford bridge, being the first
 ‘ builded with arches of stone, was therefore
 ‘ called Stratford-le-Bow.’ This, doubtless, is
 that new kind of architecture the continuer of
 Bede (whose words Malmesbury hath taken up)
 intends, where speaking of the Normans’ in-
 come, he saith, ‘ You may observe every where
 ‘ in villages churches, and in cities and villages,
 ‘ monasteries erected with a new kind of archi-

* Stow’s Survey of London, vol. i. p. 638. edit. 1754.

^f Ibid. p. 542.

‘ tecture.’^g” And again, speaking doubtfully of the age of the eastern part of the choir of Canterbury, he adds, “ I dare constantly and confidently deny it to be elder than the Norman conquest ; because of the building it upon arches, a form of architecture, though in use with and among the Romans long before, yet after their departure not used here in England, till the Normans brought it over with them from France^h. ”—Thus far Mr. Somner, whose judgment in matters of antiquity has been, and always will be regarded, and is not without sufficient reason to be called in question ; but his opinion concerning Saxon architecture appears so singular, that it will require some consideration before it can be admitted as true ; and what that was, is evident from the several passages above cited, viz. that the Saxon churches and monasteries were usually timber fabrics, or if there were any stone buildings among them, they were with upright walls only, without any pillars or arches to support them, and their roofs not arched or vaulted with stone. Indeed if this be admitted as a just account, it may fairly put an end to all further searches after the

^g “ Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, novo ædificandi genere consurgere.” Will. Malmesb. de Regibus Angl. p. 102. edit. Francof. 1601.

^h Somner’s Antiq. of Canterbury, p. 8.

remains

remains of Saxon architecture in this kingdom ; for its necessary consequence will be, that whatever remains of ancient buildings with pillars and arches of stone are at this time to be met with among us, must have been built either since the Norman conquest, or at least five hundred years earlier, that is, in the time of the Romans ; a position that will scarcely be allowed by any one who is acquainted at all with our history in the time of the Saxons.

With regard to their churches being generally of wood, the only authority produced for it is a casual expression in one of king Edgar's charters concerning the ruinous state of the monasteries in his timeⁱ ; meaning no more, as I apprehend, than that the churches and monasteries were in general so much decayed, that the roofs were uncovered, or bare to the timber, and the beams rotted by neglect, and grown over with moss ; and not that they were made wholly of wood. It is true indeed some of their fabrics seem to have been totally formed of timber ; Bede^k speaks of an oratory or chapel of that kind in the very place where St. Peter's church [17] in York now stands ; it was hastily erected

ⁱ " — Quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis, tigno tenuis visibiliter diruta." Carta Regis Edgari, Wilkins Concil. vol. i. p. 260.

^k Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.

on occasion of the conversion of Edwin king of Northumberland, for the purpose of baptizing that king, which was performed, by Paulinus bishop of York¹, on Easter-day A. D. 627. When the king had resolved to become a Christian on the preaching of Paulinus, he determined to be publicly baptized; and therefore built this church of wood for that purpose. He built it in haste for the present exigency, and as a temporary expedient:—but he likewise informs us, that soon after the king was baptized he laid the foundation of a stately and magnificent fabric of stone, in which that of wood was included, and might probably be used for divine service whilst the other was in building^m. This work was continued six years during that king's life, but before it was finished he was slain; and it was carried on and finished by Oswald his successor. Other instances of timber fabrics occur in history, and other oratories even of slighter materialsⁿ, erected on particular occasions. A wooden church is mentioned by

¹ “Baptizatus est autem Eburaci in die sancto Paschæ—in ecclesia Sti. Petri Apostoli, quam ipse de ligno citato opere erexit.” Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 14.

^m “Curavit majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cujus medio ipsum quod prius fecerat oratorium includeretur.” Ibid.

ⁿ Simeon Dunelm. lib. ii. cap. 1. 9. Ingulphi Hist. p. 4. 52. edit. Gale. Hist. Ramesiens. inter XV. Scriptores, per Gale, p. 397. Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 291. lin. 20.

Malmesbury°, in his life of Aldhelm bishop of Shireburn, in Dultinge, a village in Somersetshire where Aldhelm died; it belonged to the abbey of Glastonbury, and the monks there rebuilt it of stone. Bede likewise tells us, that Finan bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, built there a church for his episcopal see, composed wholly of fawn oak, and covered with reed, according to the fashion of the Scots^p; and that Eadberct, one of his successors, there took off the reed, and covered the whole, both the roof and sides, with sheets of lead. However, these wooden fabrics, 'tis probable, were not very common, even in those early times of the Saxons; and, as appears by the instances produced, some of them were intended only for temporary use; and the last-mentioned church at Lindisfarne was built after a manner peculiar to the Scots. This erroneous account of the Saxon churches being generally of wood, or at least without any pillars or arches of stone, Mr. Somner was probably led into, by relying on Mr. Stow, whose authority he vouches and implicitly follows; and then mistaking the sense of that passage in king Edgar's charter, applies it to the entire fabrics, which was indeed applicable only to their roofs: and when he comes

° Angl. Sacr. vol. ii. p. 23.

^p Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 25.

to Malmesbury's account of the architecture introduced by the Normans, which is there called *novum genus ædificandi* (the new manner of building), Mr. Somner takes the novelty of it to consist in its being composed with pillars and arches ; and therein differed from the Saxon.

But that the Saxon churches were generally built of stone, and not only so, but that they had pillars and arches, and some of them vaultings of stone, there is sufficient testimony from authentic history, and the undoubted remains of them at this time.

There is a great probability, that at the time the Saxons were converted, the art of constructing arches and vaultings, and supporting stone edifices by columns, [18] was well known among them ; they had many instances of such kind of buildings before them, in the churches and other public edifices erected in the times of the Romans. For, notwithstanding the havoc that had been made of the Christian churches by the Picts and Scots, and by the Saxons themselves, some of them were then in being. Bede mentions two in the city of Canterbury¹ ; that dedicated to St. Martin on the east side of the city, wherein queen Bertha performed her devotions, and Augustin and his companions made use of

¹ Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 26 and 33.

at their first coming ; and the other, that which the king, after his conversion, gave to Augustin, and which he repaired and dedicated to our blessed Saviour, and made it his archiepiscopal see. Besides these two ancient Roman churches, it is likely there were others of the same age in different parts of the kingdom, which were then repaired and restored to their former use.

Among other fabrics of these times may be reckoned the many heathen temples used by the idolatrous Saxons : that they were built by the Saxons themselves will probably be allowed ; and that some of them were good buildings will hardly admit of any doubt, since for that very reason pope Gregory advised Augustin^r that the temples ought not to be demolished, but only the idols that were in them should be removed and destroyed, and then consecrated to the service of the true God. The particular form in which these Saxon temples were built, and wherein they differed from Christian churches in their manner of building, may be difficult to determine with any degree of certainty ; but as many of them were afterwards converted to churches^s, I see no reason to think otherwise of them, but that they might be similar in their

^r Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 30.

^s Monast. Angl. vol. iii. p. 298.

construction, and differ only in the use they were put to.

On king Ethelbert's conversion, A. D. 561, he with great zeal set about building of churches; he laid the foundation of a new one for the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul^t, which Augustin was then erecting; and designed it for the burying-place for himself and his successors kings of Kent, and for the archbishops of Canterbury. He also founded the church of St. Andrew at Rochester^u, and endowed it for an episcopal see: and by his influence and authority, a new bishopric was erected in the kingdom of the East Saxons, where Sebert his nephew reigned under him; the see of which being fixed at London, he there also founded and endowed the cathedral church of St. Paul^x. These were the earliest churches erected after the conversion of the Saxons was begun: whether these were built by the Saxons themselves, or whether they procured architects from other countries to build them, is not of any great moment to determine, since we are only considering the general state of architecture in those times. Now, though the account given us by Bede of these three churches founded by king Ethelbert is very concise, and

^t Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 33.

^u Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 3. ^x Ibid.

nothing

nothing is there mentioned in express terms of the particular manner, or of the materials with which they were built; yet some circumstances that he relates afterwards seem plainly to indicate that they were stone buildings, and had both pillars and arches in their composition.

To instance the church of St. Peter and St. Paul: when Augustin died, that church not being finished, he was buried abroad; but as soon as it was consecrated, Bede [19] tells us, that his body was brought into the church and decently interred *in porticu illius aquilonarij*, in the north portico of the same. He further speaks of another portico in the same church, in which queen Bertha, king Ethelbert, and other kings of Kent, were buried; this he calls *Porticus Sti. Martini*², to distinguish it from the former, and was probably the opposite or south portico. The word *porticus* occurs several times in Bede, Alcuin, Heddius, and other ancient Saxon writers, and is generally translated by the English word porch; and so misleads us to think it synonymous with *atrium* or *vestibulum*, denoting a building without-side the church, at the entrance into it: whereas this can by no means be agreeable to Bede's meaning; for in his account of king Ethelbert's interment, he expresses himself in such terms as will not ad-

¹ Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 3.

² Ibid. cap. 5.

mit of that sense: he was buried, says Bede, *in porticu Sti. Martini intra ecclesiam*^a; which shows that the porticus was within the church: and likewise in relating the burial of archbishop Theodore, A. D. 690, he says, he was buried *in ecclesiâ Sti. Petri, in quâ omnium episcoporum Doruvernensium sunt corpora deposita*^b (in the church of St. Peter, in which all the bodies of the bishops of Canterbury were interred); though he had before said^c that they were all interred in the north portico except Theodore and Berctwald; whose bodies were buried *in ipsa ecclesia* (in the church itself), because that portico could not conveniently hold any more^d.

To

^a Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 5.

^b Ibid. lib. v. cap. 8.

^c Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 3.

^d The better to elucidate the sense of the word *porticus*, the reader will be pleased to compare the following passages from Bede and other ancient writers:—A. D. 721 obiit Johannes Ebor. episcopus in monasterio suo Beverlac. et “sepultus est in porticu S. Petri.” Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 6.—A. D. 726 obiit Tobias Rossensis episcopus, et “sepultus est in porticu S. Pauli Apost. quam intro ecclesiam S. Andreæ sibi in locum sepulchri fecerat.” Ibid. cap. 23.—A. D. 977 Sidemannus Creditoniæ episcopus “sepulturæ traditur in monasterio Abendonensi in parte ecclesiæ boreali, in porticu S. Pauli.” Chron. Saxon.—A. D. 1034 obiit Brithwius Wellensis episcopus; “hic jacet in aquilonari porticu ad S. Johannem (Glastoniæ). Britwoldus Wintoniensis (l. Wiltoniensis) episcopus, obiit A. D. 1045, hic sepultus fuit cum Brithwio in eadem ecclesia in parte aquilonari.” Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 9.—“In ambabus porticibus Coventriæ jacent ædificatores loci præcellentissimi conjuges.” (Scil. comes Leofricus et Godiva comitissa uxor ejus, qui Leofricus obiit A. D. 1057.) Ibid. p. 302. In all the above-

To make these several passages in Bede consistent, we must necessarily allow that the royal family of Kent and the first eight archbishops [20] of Canterbury were all buried in this church; the former in St. Martin's, or the south portico or isle; Augustin and his five immediate successors in the north portico or isle; and Theodore and Berctwald in the body of the church: for when he says the two latter were deposited *in ipsa ecclesia* he certainly means

above-cited places a more considerable part of the church is certainly intended by *porticus* than what is commonly understood by the *church-porch*, as it is usually rendered by our ecclesiastical writers. It was frequently distinguished by the name of some saint; for we read of Porticus Sti. Martini in St. Augustin's church at Canterbury, Porticus Sti. Gregorii in St. Peter's at York, Porticus Sti. Petri at Beverley, Porticus Sti. Pauli in St. Andrew's at Rochester; and other distinctions of that kind in many of our ancient churches. The reason of which appears to be, that they were dedicated to the honour of those saints. Thus we find by king Edgar's charter to Thorney abbey, that the church there was dedicated, A. D. 972, to St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Benedict; i. e. the east part of the choir, where the altar was placed, to St. Mary, the western part to St. Peter, and the north porticus to St. Benedict. Ibid. p. 243.—From all these instances where the word *porticus* occurs, it appears that the writers meant by it either what is now commonly called the *side-isle* of the church, or sometimes it may be a particular division of it, consisting of one arch with its recess; as in the following passage in Bede's account of the relics and ornaments with which the church of Hexham was furnished by Acca, who succeeded Wilfred in that bishopric A. D. 710: "Acquisitis undecumque reliquiis B. apostolorum et martyrum Christi in venerationem illorum altaria *disjunctis porticibus* in hoc ipsum intra muros ecclesiæ posuit." Bedæ Hist. lib. v. cap. 20.

no more by that expression than the nave or body, as distinguished from the side-isses. It plainly appears then, that this, which was one of the first-erected Saxon churches, consisted of a nave and two side-isses; but how a church of that form could have been supported without pillars and arches of stone, is not easy to conceive; the very terms indeed seem necessarily to imply it. The same remark may be extended and applied to St. Peter's church at York; which was a spacious and magnificent fabric of stone, founded A. D. 627, by king Edwin, soon after he was baptized^e. For that it had such porticos within, appears from Bede's relation of the death of king Edwin, who was killed in battle A. D. 633. "His head," says he, "was brought to York, and afterwards carried into the church of the blessed apostle St. Peter, and deposited in St. Gregory's portico^f."

Other

^e Mox ut baptismum consecutus est (Ædwinus) majorem et augustiorem de lapide fabricare curavit basilicam. Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.

^f Adlatum est caput Ædwini regis Eburacum, et inlatum postea in ecclesiam B. apostoli Petri—positum est in porticu S. Papæ Gregorii. Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 20.—Mr. Collier cites this passage from Bede, and seems to have adopted the common error of taking *porticus* for a building without-side the church; and thence falsely infers, that it was not the custom of that age to bury within-side. "King Edwin's head (says he) was deposited in St. Gregory's porch; from whence we may probably conclude, that his children

Other notices occur in the same author of churches built in or near his own time, some of which are expressly said to have been built of stone, as St. Peter's in York last mentioned, and the church at Lincoln built by Paulinus, after he had converted Blaecca, prefect or governor of that city, which was a stone church of excellent workmanship^g; and those other churches he speaks of might have been of stone for aught that appears to the contrary. Bede is indeed rather sparing in his description of them; so that little is to be collected from him of their manner of building; he says nothing in direct terms either of pillars or arches in any of his churches, though the word *porticus*, which he frequently uses, may be said to imply both; as it certainly does in some instances, if not in all. He is a little more particular in his account of St. Peter's church in the monastery of Wermouth in the neighbourhood of Gyrwi, where he had his education, and lived all his days. This was built by the famous Benedict Biscopius^h: in the year 675 this abbat went over into France to engage workmen to build his church after the Roman

before mentioned, who are said to have been buried in the church, were only buried in the porch, the custom of that age going no further." Collier's Ch. Hist. vol. i. p. 86.

^g In qua civitate et ecclesiam operis egregii de lapide fecit. Bedæ Hist. lib. ii. cap. 14.

^h Bedæ Hist. Abbatum Wiremuth. et Gyrw. p. 295.

manner

manner (as it is there called), and brought them over with him for that purpose. He prosecuted this work with extraordinary zeal and diligence; infomuch that within the compass of a year after the foundations were laid, he caused the roof to be put on, and divine service to be performed in it. Afterwards, when the building was nearly [21] finished, he sent over to France for artificers skilled in the mystery of making glass (an art till that timeⁱ unknown to the inhabitants of Britain), to glaze the windows both of the porticos and the principal parts of the church; which work they not only executed, but taught the English nation that most useful art.

We have still more certain and explicit accounts of churches built in the northern parts of the kingdom during this century, in which both

ⁱ What Bede here affirms of abbat Benedict, that he first introduced the art of making glass into this kingdom, is by no means inconsistent with Eddius's account of Bishop Wilfrid's glazing the windows of St. Peter's church at York about the year 669, i. e. seven or eight years before this time. For glass might have been imported from abroad by Wilfrid; but Benedict first brought over the artists, who taught the Saxons the art of making glass.—That the windows in churches were usually glazed in that age abroad, as well as in these parts, we learn from Bede; who, speaking of the church on mount Olivet, about a mile from Jerusalem, says, in the west front of it were eight windows, which on some occasions used to be illuminated with lamps, which shone so bright through the glass that the mount seemed in a blaze. Bedæ Lib. de Locis sanctis, cap. 6.

pillars

pillars and arches are expressly mentioned. Eddius, who was contemporary with Bede, wrote the life of Wilfrid bishop of York, and, among other things, informs us of many religious structures erected by that magnificent prelate; several of which, as appears by his description, were very elegant and sumptuous buildings; besides which, he thoroughly repaired the church of St. Peter in York^k, which had received great injuries in the wars between Penda king of Mercia and the Northumbrians, a few years after it was finished; he put on a new roof, and covered it with lead, and glazed the windows^l, about the year 669.

The churches founded by Wilfrid, and particularly described by Eddius, are the conventual church of Rippon in Yorkshire, and the cathedral church of Hexham in Northumberland; of the former he gives this account: He raised on high and completed the church in Rippon, from the foundations in the ground to its utmost height; with hewn stone, and supported it with various kinds of pillars and porticos^m.—This elegant

^k Eddii Stephani Vita S. Wilfridi, inter XV. Scriptores, cap. xvi. p. 59. edit. Gale.

^l Primum culmina corrupta tecti renovans, artificiose plumbo puro tegens, per fenestras introitum avium et imbrium vitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiebat. Ibid.

^m In Hrypīs basilicam polito lapide a fundamentis in
D terra

elegant church, soon after it was finished, was with great solemnity consecrated by himself, and dedicated to the honour of St. Peter, in the presence of king Egfrid, and all the abbats and great men of that kingdom. But of all the churches built in that age, that of St. Andrew in Hexham deserves our particular notice. Hexham, with the adjoining territory, was part of the crown-land of the kings of Northumberland, and being settled in dower by king Egfrid on his queen St. Etheldreda, bishop Wilfrid, with the king's consent, obtained a grant of it, in order to raise it to an episcopal seeⁿ. In the year 674, Wilfrid begun the foundation of this celebrated church, and Eddius speaks with great admiration of it in this manner: "Its deep foundations, [22] and the many subterraneous rooms there artfully disposed, and above-ground the great variety of buildings to be seen, all of hewn stone, and supported by sundry kinds of pillars and many porticos, and set off by the surprising length and height of the walls, surrounded with various mouldings and bands curiously wrought, and the turnings and

terra usque ad summum ædificatam, variis columnis et porticibus suffultam in altum erexit et consummavit. Eddii Vita Wilfridi, ut supra, cap. xvii. p. 59.

ⁿ Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 272.—Rich. Prior Hagulst. de Statu Ecclesiæ, &c. lib. i. cap. 2, 3, 7.—Lib. Elien. MS. fol. ii.

windings of the passages, sometimes ascending or descending by winding stairs to the different parts of the building; all which it is not easy to express or describe by words, &c. neither is there any church of the like sort to be found on this side the Alpes°."

Richard prior of Hexham, who flourished about A. D. 1180, in whose time this famous church was standing, though in a decaying state, more fully describes the manner of its building^p: "The foundations of this church," says

° Nam in Hagustaldense adepta regione et (l. a) regina Æthildrite Domino dedicata, domum Domino in honorem beati Andreæ apostoli fabrefactam fundavit: cujus profunditatem in terra cum domibus mirifice politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum, columnis variis et porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine et altitudine murorum ornatam, et variis linearum anfractibus, viarum aliquando sursum aliquando deorsum per cochleas circumductam, non est meæ parvitatís hoc fermone explicare quod sanctus ipse præsul animarum, a Spiritu Dei doctus, opere facere excogitavit; neque ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus. Eddii Vita Wilfridi, cap. xxii. p. 62.

^p Profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis et oratoriis subterraneis, et viarum anfractibus, inferius cum magna industria fundavit: parietes autem quadratis et variis et bene politis columpnis suffultos, et tribus tabulatis distinctos immensæ longitudinis et altitudinis erexit: ipsos etiam et capitella columpnarum quibus sustentantur, et arcum sanctuarii historiarum et imaginibus et variis celaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus et picturarum et colorum grata varietate mirabilique decore decoravit: ipsum quoque corpus ecclesiæ appendiciis et porticibus undique circumcinxit, quæ miro atque inexplicabili artificio per parietes et cochleas inferius et superius distinxit: in ipsis vero cocleis et super ipsas, ascen-

says he, " St. Wilfrid laid deep in the earth for the crypts and oratories, and the passages leading to them, which were there with great exactness contrived and built under-ground : the walls, which were of great length and raised to an immense height, and divided into three several stories or tires, he supported by square and various other kinds of well-polished columns. Also the walls, the capitals of the columns which supported them, and the arch of the sanctuary, he decorated with historical representations, imagery, and various figures in relief, carved in stone, and painted with a most agreeable variety of colours. The body of the church he encompassed about with pentices and porticos, which both above and below he divided with great and inexpressible art, by partition-walls and winding stairs. Within the staircases, and above them, he caused flights of

*foria ex lapide et deambulatoria, et varios viarum am-
fractus modo sursum modo deorsum artificiosissime ita
machinari fecit, ut innumera hominum multitudo ibi
existere, et ipsum corpus ecclesiæ circumdare possit, cum
a nemine tamen infra in ea existentium videri queat :
oratoria quoque quam plurima superius et inferius secre-
tissima et pulcherrima in ipsis porticibus cum maxima
diligentia et cautela constituit, in quibus altaria in honore
B. Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariæ et S. Michaelis
archangeli sanctique Johannis Bapt. et sanctorum aposto-
lorum, martyrum, confessorum, atque virginum, cum eorum
apparitibus honestissime præparari fecit : unde etiam usque
hodie quædam illorum ut turres et propugnacula superemi-
nent. Richardi Prioris Hagust. lib. i. cap. 3.*

steps

steps and galleries of stone, and several passages leading from them, both for ascending and descending, to be so artfully disposed, that multitudes of people might be there, and go quite round the church, without being seen by any one below in the nave: moreover, in the several divisions of [23] the porticos or isles both above and below, he erected many most beautiful and private oratories of exquisite workmanship; and in them he caused to be placed altars in honour of the blessed virgin Mary, St. Michael, St. John Baptist, and holy apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, with all decent and proper furniture to each of them; some of which remaining at this day, appear like so many turrets and fortified places." He also mentions some other particulars of this church, and concludes with telling us, "It appears from ancient history and chronicles, that of all the nine monasteries over which that venerable bishop presided, and of all others throughout England, this church of St. Andrew in Hexham was the most elegant and sumptuous, and that its equal was not to be met with on this side the Alpes¹." The same historian further informs us, that there were in his time at Hexham two other churches²; one not far

¹ Richard. Prior. Hagustal. lib. i. cap. 3.

² Ibid. cap. 4.

from the wall of the mother church, of admirable work, built in form of a tower, and almost circular, having on the four principal points so many porticos, and was dedicated to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary; the other, a little further off, dedicated to St. Peter; besides a third on the other side of the river Tine, about a mile distant from the town, dedicated to St. Michael the archangel^s; and that the general tradition was, that these three churches were founded by bishop Wilfrid, but finished by his successor Acca.

It may be collected from Bede^t, that churches and monasteries were very scarce in Northumberland about the middle of this century; but before the end of it, several very elegant ones were erected in that kingdom, owing chiefly to the noble spirit of Wilfrid bishop of York. This prelate was then in high favour with Oswi and Egfrid kings of Northumberland, and most of the nobility of that kingdom; by whose unbounded liberality in lands, and plate and jewels, and all kind of rich furniture, he rose to a degree of opulency as to vie with princes in state and magnificence; and this enabled him to found several rich monasteries, and build such stately edifices in those parts as cannot but excite

^s Bedæ Hist. lib. v. cap. 2. line 17.

^t Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 14. and lib. iii. cap. 2.

the admiration of posterity^u. To prosecute these great undertakings, he gave all due encouragement to the most skilful builders and artificers of every kind, eminent in their several ways, and by proper rewards always kept them in his service, to the great advantage and emolument of his country; some of these he procured at Canterbury, when he had prevailed on Eddius and Eona to undertake the instructing his choirs in the Roman manner of singing^v: other eminent builders and artists he invited, or brought over with him from Rome, Italy, France, and other countries for that purpose^w: and, according to [24] Malmesbury and Eddius, was eminent for his knowledge and skill in the science of architecture, and himself the principal director in all those works, in concert with those excellent masters whom the hopes of preferment had invited from Rome and other

^u The famous abbat Benedict Biscopius, sometime companion of Wilfrid in his travels, was about that time engaged in the same noble designs, and founded the monasteries of St. Peter and St. Paul at Wermouth and Gyrwi.

^v Cum cantoribus Ædde et Eona, et cæmentariis, omnisque pene artis ministerio in regionem suam revertens, cum regula Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene melioravit. Eddii Vit. S. Wilfridi, cap. xiv. Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 2.

^w De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de alijs terris ubicumque invenire poterat, cæmentarios, et quoslibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua faciendâ secum in Angliam adduxerat. Richard. Prior. Hagulst. lib. i. cap. 5.

places^x to execute those excellent plans which he had formed. But of all his works the church of Hexham was the first and most sumptuous, and, as far as appears, was never equalled by any other in this kingdom whilst the Saxons continued to govern: indeed, there was no period since the establishment of Christianity among them, in which those polite and elegant arts that embellish life and adorn the country seem to have made so great advances as during the time he continued in favour. Neither was his fame confined to the kingdom of Northumberland; his great abilities and reputation for learning gained him respect in the other kingdoms of the heptarchy: Wulfere and Ethelred kings of Mercia often invited him thither to perform the episcopal office among them, and for his advice and instructions in founding several monasteries. He also happily finished the conversion of the heptarchy, by preaching the gospel to the kingdom of the South Saxons, containing what are now the counties of Surry and Suffex, the only one which remained till that time unconverted; for which end he had

^x Ibi (apud Hagustaldem) ædificia minaci altitudine murorum erecta, mirabile quantum expolivit, abitratu quidem multa proprio, sed et cæmentariorum, quos ex Roma spes munificentiae attraxerat, magisterio, &c. Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontif. Angl. p. 272. Eddii Vit. S. Wilfridi, cap. xxii.

been

been kindly entertained by king Edilwalch, who gave him the peninsula of Selesia^y; where also he founded a monastery, in which the episcopal see was at first placed, but afterwards removed to Chichester. And that the church and monastery at Ely, founded by St. Etheldreda, were built under his direction seems highly probable, as from many other circumstances, so in particular from what is related by the Ely historian^z; viz. That he spent a considerable time with her on her coming to Ely, in settling the economy of her convent, was entrusted with the whole conducting of her affairs, and (if I rightly understand his meaning) formed the plan of her monastery; though the necessary funds for car-

^y Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 13. Eddii Vit. S. Wilfridi, cap. xl.

^z Solus autem Wilfridus pontifex, quem virgo regina præ omnibus in regno dilectum et electum habuerat, suis tunc necessitatibus provisorum adhibuit, jura illic administravit episcopalia; a quo, sicut in Beda legitur, facta est abbatissa. Lib. Elien. MS. lib. i. cap. 15.

Post modicum fratris sui memorati regis Aldulfi auxiliis majore eam inibi (in Ely) constructo monasterio virginum Deo devotarum perplurium, mater virgo et exemplis vitæ cœpit esse et monitis, quarum usibus ex integro insulam constituit. Ibid.

Sanctus Wilfridus—ut eam in Ely descendisse cognoverat, festinus advolat, de animæ commodis, de statu mentis, de qualitate conversationis tractatur. Deinde in abbatissæ officio eam gregemque illic adunatum consecravit, *locum suæ dispositione constituit*, seque in omnibus sollicitum exhibuit; ubi vitam non solum sibi, sed cunctis ibidem existentibus utilem aliquanto tempore duxit; a quo ipsa plurimum regendi consilium et vitæ solatium habuit. Ibid. cap. xvi.

rying on the work, he tells us, were supplied by her brother Aldulfus king of the East Angles. There are very considerable ruins of this ancient Saxon monastery at Ely still in being, especially of the church that belonged to it;—what kind of fabric that was, we shall be the better able to determine when we come to take a view of those venerable remains, and shall give a more particular description of them [25] in the state they now are. In the mean time I shall proceed in some further observations on the state of architecture among the Saxons, and show not only that the opinion which some authors have entertained of their churches and monasteries, as if they were usually wooden fabrics, is erroneous, and has no foundation in true history; but also that very elegant stone buildings supported by pillars and arches were very common with them.

In the beginning of the 8th century the same style of architecture that was used here in England by the Saxons was making its way into the more northern parts of this island; for Bede tells us^b, that in the year 710 Naiton king of the Picts, in a letter he wrote to Ceolfrid abbat of Girwy, informed him, among other things, of his intending to build a church of stone to

^b Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 21.

the honour of St. Peter ; requesting, at the same time, to send him some artificers to build it after the *Roman* manner. Hence it should seem that the style of architecture generally used in that age in England was called the Roman manner, and was the same that was then used at Rome in Italy, and in other parts of the empire.

About the same time, A. D. 716, Ethelbald king of Mercia founded the monastery of Croyland in Lincolnshire^c. The soil was marshy, and not well able to support a fabric of stone : in which circumstances a timber building might be thought most expedient, on account of its lightness, had such been generally used in that age. However, we find the king caused a vast number of large oaken piles to be driven into the ground, and more solid earth to be brought in boats nine miles by water, and laid thereon, to make it the more sound and commodious for building ; and then laid the foundation of the church of stone, which he finished, and also all the necessary offices of that monastery, on which he bestowed many ornaments and privileges, and liberally endowed it.

But perhaps one of the most complete Saxon churches that we have any authentic account of,

^c Ingulphi Hist. Croyland. p. 4.

is that of St. Peter in York, as it was rebuilt about the middle of the 8th century. The church founded there by king Edwin, and finished by his successor king Oswald, and afterwards repaired by bishop Wilfrid, as mentioned before, having received great damage by a fire which happened in the year 741^d, archbishop Albert, who was promoted to that see A. D. 767, thought proper to take it wholly down and rebuild it. This Albert was of a noble family, and a native of York; in his younger days he was sent by his parents to a monastery, where, making a great proficiency in learning, he was ordained a deacon and afterwards a priest; being taken into the family of archbishop Egbert, to whom he was nearly related in blood, he was by him preferred to the mastership of the celebrated school at York, where he employed himself in educating youth in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry; and taught also astronomy, natural philosophy, and divinity. He afterwards travelled, and visited Rome, and the most eminent seats of learning abroad, and was solicited by several foreign princes to stay, but declined it; and returning home, he brought [26] with him a fine collection of books he had met with in his travels, and soon after was made archbishop of

^d Chron. Mailros. Simeon Dunelm. & Hoveden ad annum 741. Tanner's Notit. Monast. p. 627.

York. Finding his church in a ruinous condition, occasioned probably by the late fire, and perhaps not sufficiently repaired since that accident, he determined to take it wholly down, and to rebuild it. The principal architects he employed in that work were two of his own church, and who had received their education under him, namely, Eanbald (who afterwards succeeded him in the see of York) and the famous Alcuin; both of them reckoned among the most learned men of that age; who, with great zeal and unanimity, begun, carried on, and finished it in a few years; and, as appears by the description, executed the work in a most sumptuous and magnificent manner. Albert just lived to see his church completed: for growing old and infirm, he either resigned his see, or took Eanbald, his intended successor, for his coadjutor in the episcopal office, for the three or four last years of his life; and they both assisted at the consecration of it only ten days before his death, which happened, according to Alcuin, November the 8th, 780. His noble collection of books he deposited in the library at York, probably the same which is said to have been founded by archbishop Egbert^e; but which he greatly augmented by the addition of all those he had pro-

^e Willielm. Malmesburiens. de Pontificibus Angl. lib. iii. f. 153.

cured in his travels abroad ; and committed them to the custody of the learned Alcuin, who gratefully celebrates the memory of his patron, and ranks him in the highest class amongst men of eminence in that age for learning, piety, and munificence ; and has at the same time left us a description of this church, which I shall give below in his own words^f.

From the description here given, in which the principal members and requisites of a complete and finished edifice are expressed, pillars, arches, vaulted roofs, windows, porticos, galleries, and variety of altars, with their proper

^f “ Ast nova basilicæ miræ structura diebus
Præfulis hujus erat jam cœpta, peracta, sacrata.
Hæc nimis alta domus solidis suffulta columnis,
Supposita quæ stant curvatis arcubus, intus
Emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris,
Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis,
Plurima diversis retinens solaris tectis,
Quæ triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.
Hoc duo discipuli templum, doctore jubente,
Ædificarunt Eanbaldus et Alcuinus, ambo
Concordes operi devota mente studentes.
Hoc tamen ipse pater focio cum præfule templum
Ante die decima quam clauderet ultima vitæ
Lumina præsentis, Sophiæ sacra verat almæ.”

This account of archbishop Albert, and his rebuilding St. Peter's church in York, is extracted from Alcuin's poem *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Ebor.* published by Dr. Gale, A. D. 1691, in which his life is more fully wrote. The name of Albert is barely mentioned by bishop Godwin, in his Catalogue of Bishops ; though his great learning, piety, and munificence, well deserve to have his name transmitted to latest posterity.

ornaments

ornaments and decorations, the reader will in some measure be able to form a judgment of the whole, and be apt to conclude that architecture was carried in that age to some considerable degree of perfection.

Mr. Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, and incidental notes on other Arts, observes ‡, “that as all the other arts were formerly confined to cloisters, so also was architecture too; and that when we read that such a bishop or such an abbat built such and such an edifice, they often gave the plans as well as furnished the necessary funds.” The justness of this observation appears in this instance of rebuilding [27] St. Peter’s in York, of which Eanbald and Alcuin were the chief architects; in that of the church belonging to Gyrwi monastery, built by abbat Benedict Biscopius; and those of the churches of Rippon, Hexham, and Ely, by bishop Wilfrid; and in many other instances that occur in history, some of which may be taken notice of afterwards. And indeed it is highly probable that the principal architects of many or most of our best churches and monasteries, both in this and succeeding ages, were some or other of those religious societies themselves, who, generally speak-

‡ Vol. i. p. 110.

ing,

ing, wanted only inferior artists and workmen to carry their designs into execution; and even of these they were in part supplied out of their own houses, where the elegant and polite arts, particularly those of sculpture and painting, were much cultivated and improved.

In the 9th century the frequent and almost continual invasions of this kingdom by the Danes introduced the greatest disorder and confusion in the state, and brought it almost to the brink of ruin. War, and its necessary attendants, the desolation and destruction of our churches, monasteries, and other edifices, both public and private, with the slaughter of the inhabitants, take up the greatest part of the annals of those times. Meanwhile arts and sciences, which in the last century had been in a very flourishing condition, began to be neglected; and religion and learning lost their proper influence on men's minds, and were sinking apace into disrepute and contempt^h. In the midst of these public calamities, however, it pleased Providence to raise to the throne Alfred, worthily surnamed the Greatⁱ. The vigorous measures he pursued to rescue his country from the hands of those barbarous invaders of it, and to restore it to its former lustre, deserve the

^h Affer. de Rebus Gestis Alfredi, p. 27.

ⁱ Floren. Wigorn. A. D. 871.

highest encomiums. Engaged as he was in continual wars, during his whole reign of near thirty years, he never ceased to exert his utmost endeavours to restore religion and learning, to promote commerce, to cultivate and improve all the fine and elegant arts^k. His court was the resort of learned men of all professions, as well his own subjects as foreigners, invited thither from the neighbouring kingdoms, and retained there by proper rewards^l. Among his other accomplishments, he was skilful in architecture, and excelled his predecessors in elegance of building and adorning his palaces^m; in constructing large ships for the security of his coastsⁿ, and erecting castles in convenient parts of the kingdom. Indeed architecture before this time had been almost wholly confined to religious structures; but now was, by Alfred and his two immediate successors, chiefly applied to military purposes, in erecting fortresses and towers, and in building and repairing walled towns, become necessary to curb the insolence and perfidy of the Danes; and thus by adding to the defence and security, he also greatly improved the face of the country^o. He

^k Matth. Westm. ad an. 888.

^l Ingulphi Hist. p. 27. edit. Gale.

^m Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 871 & 887.

ⁿ Matth. Westm. ad an. 897.

^o Ingulphi Hist. p. 27.

also encouraged the repairing of churches, founded two monasteries, and restored some others^p: and to all these great works he allotted, and constantly expended, a considerable part of his revenue^q. But the mischiefs the kingdom had sustained were immense, and the evils too heavy to be soon removed, and indeed required more than one age to do it; for it is certain that neither the exalted genius nor the active zeal even of the great Alfred himself were [28] ever able effectually to remove them. Part of this work, however, was carried on by his successor in the next age.

Edward his son, who succeeded him in the year 900, though inferior to his father in learning, surpassed him in martial glory^r. His genius too was turned to architecture, but it was chiefly military: he built fortresses in different parts of the kingdom, encompassed cities and great towns with walls and other means of defence, to check the sudden incursions of the Danes; out of whose hands he wrested the kingdoms of the East Angles and Northumberland, and obliged the Scots and Welsh to own

^p Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 887.

^q Ibid.—Matth. Westm. ad an. 888.

^r Matth. Westm. et Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 901. Ingulph. Hist. p. 28.

his sovereignty^s. He is said to have repaired the university of Cambridge^t, after it had been burnt by the Danes; though whether is meant of restoring it as a seat of learning, or only rebuilding the town, is not clear. Some churches and monasteries, indeed, were founded or repaired in his reign, in that of Athelstan^u, and his immediate successors; but the more general restoration of them was reserved for the peaceable times of king Edgar.

Edgar is said to have founded more than forty monasteries^v; but they were chiefly such as had been destroyed by the Danes, and were either in possession of the secular clergy, or had lain desolate to that time; and so may more properly be said to have been repaired only, and restored to their former use:—however, several monasteries were first founded in his time; and by the accounts we have of them, it appears that some new improvements in architecture had lately been made, or were about that time introduced. The famous abbey of Ramsey in

^s Matth. Westm. ad an. 907. Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 921.

^t Rudborne, Angl. Sacr. vol. i. p. 209.

^u Ingulphi Hist. p. 29.—Matth. Westm. ad an. 939.—Malmesb. de Pontif. lib. v. p. 362. edit. Gale, inter xv; Scriptores.

^v Matth. Westm. et Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 957.—“Non fuit in Anglia monasterium sine ecclesia cujus non emendaret cultum vel ædificia.” Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 33.

Huntingdonshire^w was one of these; and was founded by Ailwin alderman of all England, as he is styled, with the assistance of Oswald bishop of Worcester, afterwards archbishop of York. All the offices and the church belonging to this monastery were new built under the direction of Ednoth one of the monks of Worcester, sent thither for that purpose. This church, which was six years in building, was finished in the year 974, and in the same year, on the 8th of November, with great solemnity, dedicated by Oswald, then raised to the archiepiscopal see of York, assisted by Alfnth bishop of the diocese, in the presence of Ailwin and other great men. By a description given of this church in the history of that abbey^x, it appears to have had "two towers raised above the roof, one of them at the west end of the church, affording a noble prospect at a distance to them that approached the island; the other, which was larger, was supported by four pillars in the middle of the building, where it divided in four parts, being connected together by arches, which

^w Hist. Ramesiensis, cap. xx. p. 399. inter xv. Scriptores, edit. per Gale.

^x "Duæ quoque turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem in fronte basilicæ pulchrum intransibis insulam a longe spectaculum præbebat; major vero in quadrifidæ structuræ medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de alia ad aliam arcibus sibi invicem connexas, ne laxè defluerent, deprimebat." Ibid.

extended

extended to other adjoining arches, to keep them from giving way." From this passage one may easily collect, that the plan of this new church was a cross, with side-isses, and was adorned with two [29] towers, one in the west front, and the other in the intersection of the cross; a mode of building, I apprehend, which had not then been long in use here in England; for it is obvious to remark, that in the descriptions we have remaining of the more ancient Saxon churches, as particularly those of St. Andrew's at Hexham and St. Peter's at York^y, fully enough described; not a word occurs, by which it can be inferred that these, or indeed any other of them, had either cross buildings or high towers raised above the roofs; but, as far as we can judge, were mostly square^z, or rather oblong buildings, and generally turned circular at the east end^a; in form nearly, if not exactly, resembling the *basilicæ*, or courts of justice in

^y See p. 34. 45.

^z St. Peter's at York, begun by king Edwin A. D. 627, is particularly reported by Bede to have been of that form; "per quadrum cœpit ædificare basilicam." Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.

^a An ancient church at Abbendon, built about the year 675, by Heane the first abbat of that place, was an oblong building, 120 feet in length; and, what is singular, was of a circular form on the west as well as on the east.—"Habebat in longitudine 120 pedes, et erat rotundum tam in parte occidentali quàm in parte orientali." Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 98.

great cities throughout the Roman empire; many of which were in fact converted into Christian churches^b, on the first establishment of Christianity under Constantine the Great; and new-erected churches were constructed on the same plan, on account of its manifest utility for the reception of large assemblies. Hence *basilica* was commonly used in that and several succeeding ages for *ecclesia* or church, and continued so even after the form of our churches was changed. Now these *basilicae* differed in their manner of construction from the *templa*; for the pillars of these latter were on the outside of the building, and consequently their porticos exposed to the weather; but the pillars of the former were within, and their porticos open only towards the nave or main body of the building; their chief entrance also was on one end, the other usually terminating in a semicircle: and this, I conceive, was the general form of our oldest Saxon churches. The plan of the old conventual church at Ely, founded in the year 673, conveys a good idea of it; except that the original circular end having been occasionally taken down, as I find, in the year 1102, and another building, ending also in a semicircle, erected in its room. The original form is traced out by dotted lines at *a*.

^b Camden's *Britannia*, col. 780. edit. Gibson.

It is highly probable that the use of bells gave occasion to the first and most considerable alteration that was made in the general plan of our churches, by the necessity it induced of having strong and high-raised edifices for their reception. The æra indeed of the invention of bells is somewhat obscure^c; and it must be owned that some traces of them may be discovered in our monasteries even in the seventh century^d; yet I believe one may venture to assert, that such large ones as required distinct buildings for their support, do not appear to have been in use among us till the tenth century; about the middle of which we find several of our churches were furnished with them, by the munificence of our kings^e. And the account we have of St. Dunstan's gifts to Malmesbury abbey, by their historian, plainly shows they were [30] not very common in that age; for he says^f, the liberality of that prelate consisted

^c Vid. Spelmanni Gloss. ad Campana.

^d Bedæ Hist. lib. iv. cap. 23.

^e Ethelstanus rex (circa A. D. 935) dedit quatuor magnas campanas Sto. Cuthberto. Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 40. lin. 52.—“Rex Eadredus duo signa non modica ecclesiæ Eboracensi donavit.” Matth. Westm. ad an. 946.—Rex “Edgarus, circa A. D. 974, ecclesiæ Ramesiensi dedit duas campanas, 20 librarum pretio comparatas.” Hist. Ramesien. cap. xxii. edit. Gale.

^f S. Dunstanus—“in multis loco munificus, quæ tunc in Anglia magni miraculi essent, decusque et ingenium conferentis offerre crebro. Inter quæ signa sono et mole præstantia;

sisted chiefly in such things as were then wonderful and strange in England; among which he reckons the large bells and organs he gave them. But from this period they became more frequent, and in time the common furniture to our churches.

Bells, no doubt, at first suggested the necessity of towers:—towers promised to the imagination something noble and extraordinary, in the uncommon effects they were capable of producing by their requisite loftiness and variety of forms. The hint was improved, and towers were built not only for necessary use^s, but often for symmetry and ornament, in different parts of the fabric; and particularly when the plan of a cross was adopted, the usefulness of such a building appeared in the intersection of the cross, adding strength to the whole, by its in-

tia; et organa," &c. Will. Malmesb. de Pontif. lib. v. edit. Angl. Sac. vol. ii. p. 33.—"Dunstanus, cujus industria restituit ecclesia (Glaston.)—fecit organa et signa duo præcipua, et campanam in refectorio." Will. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Eccles. p. 324. edit. Galei.—Athelwoldus abbas monasterii de Abendon, regnante Edgardo rege, "fecit duas campanas, quas in domo (Dei) posuit, cum aliis duabus, quas B. Dunstanus fecisse perhibetur." Mon. Angl. vol. i. p. 104. lin. 42.

^s The campanile, or that particular tower allotted for the use of bells, was sometimes a distinct separate building of itself; but more commonly adjoined to the church, so as to make part of the fabric, usually at the west end.—Vid. *Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 995. lin. 42.*

cumbent

cumbent weight on that part^h. This is the short history of the origin of towers and steeples; which always have been, and still are, considered as the pride and ornament of our churches. Possibly these innovations might begin under king Alfred: the encomiums bestowed on him as an architectⁱ look that way, and seem to point at some notable improvements in that art in his time; perhaps from models imported from abroad by some of the learned foreigners he usually entertained in his court. However, there is room enough for panegyric on that head^k, without ascribing to him “the re-edifying and restoring almost every monastery in his dominions, which either the prevailing poverty of the times, or the sacrilegious fury of the Danes, had brought to ruin; his building many and improving more^l :” all which may with great truth and propriety be applied to king Edgar: it is sufficient to say, there were two monasteries undoubtedly of Alfred’s foundation, Athelney and Shaftesbury. Of the former some account is given by Malmesbury^m; it was situate on a

^h See this explained by Sir Christopher Wren, in his Letter to Bishop Sprat, in Widmore’s Hist. of Westminster Abbey, p. 53.

ⁱ “In arte architectonica summus.” Malmesb. de Reg. Angl.

^k Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 887.

^l Biographia Britan. under Ælfred.

^m Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 202.

small river-island in Somersetshire, containing only two acres of firm ground, surrounded with an extensive morass, which rendered it difficult of access: king Alfred founded it there in pursuance of a religious vow, as it had once afforded him a safe retreat in time of his great distress: "The church, on account of its confined situation, was not large, but constructed in a new mode of building; for four piers firmly fixed on the ground supported the whole structure, having four chancels of a circular form in its circumferenceⁿ." This [31] church was probably one of his first essays in architecture; a model rather than a finished piece, a specimen of that new form then introduced, in which one may discover the rudiments of a cross and of a tower, which we find were afterwards brought to greater perfection, and were the fashionable improvements in the next age; as appears by Ailwin's church at Ramsey above mentioned^o:

Had there been more remains of these ancient structures now in being, or had our ecclesiastical

ⁿ "Fecit ecclesiam situ quidem pro angustia spacii modicam, sed novo ædificandi modo compactam; quatuor enim postes solo infixi totam suspendunt machinam, quatuor cancellis opere spherico in circuitu ductis." Ibid.—It is not quite clear, from this description, whether it was of stone or timber. The word *postes*, used for the pillars or supporters, does not, I think, determine either way.

• Page 51, 52.

writers been more express, we might at this time have been able to speak with greater certainty concerning them: but monuments of that kind are very rare^p, and what descriptions we have are mostly expressed in such general terms as give little or no satisfaction in the particulars we want to know. Sir Christopher Wren, speaking of the old abbey church of Westminster, built by king Edgar, gives his opinion of what kind of architecture the Saxons used^q: “ This, ’tis probable, was a good strong building, after the manner of the age, not much altered from the Roman way. We have some

^p The Saxon way of building was, as Sir Christopher Wren observes, very strong. There were many cathedral and conventual churches of that kind at the time of the Conquest, which might therefore probably have continued to this day, had they not been pulled down, or suffered to run to ruin by neglect: one principal cause of which was the removal of the bishops’ sees (some of which had been placed in villages or small towns) to cities and more populous places, by the council of London, A. D. 1078. This occasioned the old Saxon cathedrals in the deserted sees to be neglected and fall to decay; and in those places where they were suffered to continue, they were soon after demolished, to make room for the more stately fabrics of the Normans; except in some few instances, where perhaps some parts of the old Saxon fabrics may be found incorporated with the then new works of the Normans. The ruin of the rest is easily accounted for, considering what havoc was made of them at their surrender, and the effectual means used by the visitors appointed by king Henry VIII. to destroy them. See Willis’s Hist. of Abbies, vol. i. p. 180, 181. and vol. ii. Pref. p. 7.

^q Letter to the Bishop of Rochester, in Wren’s Parentalia, and in Widmore’s Hist. of Westm. Abbey, p. 44.

forms

forms of this ancient Saxon way, which was with piers, or round pillars (stronger than Tuscan or Doric), round-headed arches, and windows. Such was Winchester cathedral of old, and such at this day the royal chapel in the White Tower of London, the chapel of St. Cross's, the chapel of Christ-church in Oxford, formerly an old monastery, and divers others I need not name, built before the Conquest; and such was St. Paul's, built in king Rufus's time. These ancient structures were without buttresses, only with thicker walls; the windows were very narrow and latticed^r; for king Alfred is praised for inventing lanterns to keep in the lamps in the churches." This eminent architect, I doubt, could not recollect such specimens of buildings, as he was really satisfied were built before the Conquest, which his discourse naturally led him to inquire after; for the instances he brings were undoubtedly erected after that period: by this, however, he discovers his own opinion, that the Saxon and Norman architecture was the same.

^r (The windows narrow and latticed.) If the meaning be, that the windows before Alfred's time were not glazed—it is apprehended this is a mistake. See p. 32, note i.

Improvements in Architecture by the Normans.

OUR historians [32] expressly mention a new mode of architecture brought into use by the Normans, and particularly apply it to the abbey church at Westminster, built by king Edward the Confessor, *circa* A. D. 1050, in which he was buried^s; and afterwards speak of it as the prevailing mode throughout the kingdom^t. This account has not a little perplexed our modern critical inquirers, who are at a loss to ascertain the real difference between the Saxon and Norman mode of building.

In order, therefore, to reconcile these seemingly different accounts, it is proper to observe, that the general plan and disposition of all the principal parts in the latter Saxon and earliest Norman churches was the same; the chief entrance was at the west end into the nave; at the upper end of that was a cross, with the arms of it extending north and south, and the head

^s "Sepultus est (rex Edwardus) Londini in ecclesia, quam ipse novo compositionis genere construxerat; a qua post multi ecclesias construentes, exemplum adepti, opus illud expensis æmulabantur sumptuosius." Matth. Paris Hist. p. 1.
^t "Ecclesiam ædificationis genere novo fecit." W. Malmesb. de Gest. Reg.

^t "Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria, novo ædificandi genere confurgere." Malmesb. ibid. p. 102.

(in

(in which was the choir) towards the east, ending usually in a semicircular form; and in the centre of the cross was a tower; another was frequently added (and sometimes two, for the sake of ornament or symmetry), to contain the bells; the nave, and often the whole building, was encompassed with inner porticos; the pillars were round, square, or angular, and very strong and massive; the arches and heads of the doors and windows were all of them circular. In these respects it may perhaps be difficult to point out any considerable difference between the Saxon and Norman architecture. In a popular sense, however, I apprehend there will appear a sufficient distinction to entitle the latter a new mode of building, as our historians call it, in respect to the former.

The Saxons, some time before the ruin of their state, as Malmesbury observes^u, had greatly fallen from the virtue of their ancestors in religion and learning; vice and irreligion had gained the ascendant, and their moral character was at the lowest ebb; in their way of living they were luxurious and expensive, though their houses were at the same time rather low and mean buildings^v.

The

^u De Regibus Angliæ, p. 101.

^v "Parvis et abjectis domibus totos sumptus absumebant: Francis et Normannis assimiles, qui amplis et superbis ædificiis modicas expensas agunt.—Normanni erant tunc et sunt adhuc vestibus ad invidiam culti, cibis citra ullam nimitatem

The Normans, on the contrary, were moderate and abstemious, and delicate withal in their diet; fond of stately and sumptuous houses; affected pomp and magnificence in their mien and dress, and likewise in their buildings, public as well as private. They again introduced civility and the liberal arts, restored learning, and endeavoured to raise again religion from the languid state into which it was fallen: to this end they repaired and enlarged the churches and monasteries, and erected new ones every where, in a more stately and sumptuous manner than had been known in these kingdoms before. This is what our historians take notice of, and call it a new manner of building; we style it now the Norman architecture: the criterion of which is, I conceive, chiefly its massiveness and enlarged dimensions, in which it far exceeded the Saxon. Some specimens of this Norman kind of building had indeed been produced a little time before the Conquest, owing to our communication with the Normans, whose customs and manners king Edward, who had been educated in that

tem delicati. Domi ingentia ædificia (ut dixi) moderatos sumptus moliri, paribus invidere superiores prætergredi velle, &c. Religionis normam in Anglia usque quaque emortuam adventu suo fuscitarunt; videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et urbibus monasteria novo ædificandi genere confurgere, recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut sibi periisse diem quique opulentus existimet, quem non aliqua præclara magnificencia illustret." Ibid. p. 102.

court, was fond of introducing^w;—such was the abbey church which he erected at Westminster, and: “served afterwards as a pattern to other builders, being rivalled by many, at a great expense^x”; such also was St. Peter’s church in Gloucester, built about the same time, part of which is still remaining: this mode of building, in the language of professed artists, we find, is reckoned the same with the Saxon: all the difference, as far as appears to us at this distance of time, was in the magnitude or size of their several buildings. The Saxon churches were often elegant fabrics, and well constructed, as has been observed before; but generally of a moderate size, frequently begun and finished in five or six years, or less time. The works of the Normans were large, sumptuous, and magnificent; of great length and breadth, and carried up to a proportionable height, with two and sometimes three ranges of pillars one over another, of different dimensions, connected to-

^w “Rex Edwardus natus in Anglia, sed nutritus in Normannia, et diutissime immoratus, pene in Gallicum transierat, adducens ac attrahens de Normannia plurimos, quos variis dignitatibus promotos in immensum exaltabat—cœpit ergo tota terra sub rege, et sub aliis Normannis introductis Anglicos ritus dimittere et Francorum mores in multis imitari.” Ingulphi Hist. p. 62. edit. Gale.

^x “A qua post multi ecclesias construentes, exemplum adepti, opus illud expensis æmulabantur sumptuosius.” Matth. Paris Hist. p. 1.

gether by various arches ⁷ (all of them circular); forming thereby a lower and upper portico, and over them a gallery; and on the outside three tiers of windows: in the centre was a lofty strong tower, and sometimes one or two more added at the west end, the front of which generally extended beyond the side-isses of the nave or body of the church.

The observation made on rebuilding St. Paul's in king William Rufus's time, after the fire of London in 1086, by Mauritius, bishop of that see, viz. "That the plan was so extensive, and the design so great, that most people who lived at that time censured it as a rash undertaking, and judged that it never would be accomplished;" is in some measure applicable to most of the churches begun by the Normans.—Their plan was indeed great and noble, and they laid out their whole design at first; scarcely, we may imagine, with a view of ever living to see it

⁷ "Diversis fultum columnis, ac multiplicibus volutum hinc et inde arcubus:" as Sulcardus, a monk of Westminster, describes the abbey church there, built by Edward the Confessor; which was of this kind. Widmore's Hist. of Westminster Abbey, p. 10.

² "Nova fecit (Mauritius) fundamenta tam spaciofa, ut qui ea tempeftate vixerunt plerique cœptum hoc ejus tanquam temerarium et audax nimium reprehenderent, nunquam futurum dicentes, ut molis tam ingentis structura aliquando perficeretur." Godwin de Præful. Angl. p. 175.

completed in their lifetime: their way therefore was usually to begin at the east end, or the choir part; when that was finished, and covered in, the church was often consecrated; and the [34] remainder carried on as far as they were able, and then left to their successors to be completed: and it is very observable, that all our cathedral, and most of the abbey churches, besides innumerable parochial churches, were either wholly rebuilt or greatly improved within less than a century after the Conquest, and all of them by Normans introduced into this kingdom; as will evidently appear on examining the history of their several foundations^a. It was the policy of the first Norman kings to remove the English or Saxons from all places of trust or profit, and admit none but foreigners: infomuch that Malmesbury, who lived in the reign of Henry I. observes, "That in his time there was not one Englishman possessed of any post of honour or profit under the government, or of any considerable office in the


^a Particular accounts may be found in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Godwin de *Præfulibus Angliæ*, Willis's *History of Abbies*, &c. Thus Lanfranc, promoted to the see of Canterbury 1070, begun the foundation of a new church there. Thomas I. archbishop of York 1070—Walcher bishop of Durham 1071—Walkeline of Winchester 1070—Remigius of Lincoln 1076—all of them foreigners, did the like in their several sees; and so of the rest.

church."

church^b." The bishoprics and all the best ecclesiastical preferments were filled by those foreigners, and the estates of the Saxon nobility were divided among them. Thus being enriched and furnished with the means, it must be owned, they spared neither pains nor cost in erecting churches, monasteries, castles, and other edifices both for public and private use, in the most stately and sumptuous manner. And I think we may venture to say, that the circular arch, round-headed doors and windows, massive pillars, with a kind of regular base and capital, and thick walls, without any very prominent buttresses, were universally used by them to the end of king Henry the First's reign, A. D. 1134; and are the chief characteristics of their style of building: and among other peculiarities that distinguish it, we may observe, that the capitals of their pillars were generally left plain, without any manner of sculpture; though instances occur of foliage and animals on them; as those on the east side of the south transept at Ely. The body or trunk of their vast massive pillars were usually plain cylinders, or set off only with small half-columns united

^b "Anglia facta est exterorum habitatio, et alienigenarum dominatio; nullus hodie Anglus dux, vel pontifex, vel abbas; advenæ quique divitias et viscera corrodunt Angliæ; nec spes ulla est finiendæ miseræ." Malmesb. de Reg. Angl. p. 93.

with them ; but sometimes to adorn them they used the *spiral groove* winding round them, and the *net* or *lozenge work* overspreading them ; both of which appear at Durham, and the first in the undercroft at Canterbury. As to their arches, though they were for the most part plain and simple, yet some of their principal ones, as those over the chief entrance at the west end, and others most exposed to view, were abundantly charged with sculpture of a particular kind ; as, the *cheveron work* or *zig-zag moulding*, the most common of any ; and various other kinds rising and falling, jetting out and receding inward alternately, in a waving or undulating manner ;—the *embattled frette*, a kind of ornament formed by a single round moulding, traversing the face of the arch, making its returns and crossings always at right angles, so forming the intermediate spaces into squares alternately open above and below ; specimens of this kind of ornament appear on the great arches in the middle of the west front at Lincoln, and within the ruinous part of the building adjoining to the great western tower at Ely ;—the *triangular frette*, where the same kind of moulding at every [35] return forms the side of an equilateral triangle, and consequently encloses the intermediate spaces in that figure ;—the *nail-head*, resembling the heads of great nails driven
in

in at regular distances, as in the nave of old St. Paul's, and the great tower at Hereford (all of them found also in more ancient Saxon buildings);—the *billeted moulding*, as if a cylinder should be cut into small pieces of equal length, and these stuck on alternately round the face of the arches; as in the choir of Peterborough, at St. Cross, and round the windows of the upper tire on the outside of the nave at Ely: this latter ornament was often used (as were also some of the others) as a *fascia*, *band*, or *fillet*, round the outside of their buildings. Then to adorn the inside walls below, they had rows of little pillars and arches; and applied them also to decorate large vacant spaces in the walls without: and the *corbel table*, consisting of a series of small arches without pillars, but with heads of men and animals, serving instead of corbels or brackets to support them, which they placed below the parapet, projecting over the upper, and sometimes the middle tire of windows;—the *hatched moulding*, used both on the faces of the arches, or for a *fascia* on the outside; as if cut with the point of an ax at regular distances, and so left rough;—and the *nebule*, a projection terminating by an undulating line , as under the upper range of windows at Peterborough. To these marks that distinguish the Saxon or Norman style, we may add that they

had no *tabernacles* (or *niches* with canopies), or pinnacles, or spires; or indeed any statues to adorn their buildings on the outside, which are the principal grace of what is now called the Gothic; unless those small figures we sometimes meet with over their door-ways, such as is that little figure of bishop Herebert Losing over the north transept door at Norwich, seemingly of that time; or another small figure of our Saviour over one of the south doors at Ely, &c. may be called so: but these are rather mezzo-relievos than statues; and it is known that they used reliefs sometimes with profusion; as in Saxon or Norman gateway at Bury, and the two south doors at Ely. Escutcheons of arms are hardly, if ever, seen in these fabrics, though frequent enough in after-times: neither was there any tracery in their vaultings. These few particularities in the Saxon and Norman style of building, however minute they may be in appearance, yet will be found to have their use, as they contribute to ascertain the age of an edifice at first sight^c.

* Some curious observations on the difference between the Norman style of building used in the Conqueror's reign and that in use under Henry II. may be met with in the account given by Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, of the fire that happened there A. D. 1174, and burnt the choir, and of the repairing of the same. X. Scriptores, col. 1302. lin. 43, 44, &c.

It cannot be expected we should be able to enumerate all the decorations they made use of, for they designed variety in the choice of them; but a judicious antiquarian who has made the prevailing modes of architecture in distant times his study, will be able to form very probable conjectures concerning the age of most of these ancient structures; the alterations that have been made in them since their first erection will often discover themselves to his eye. Perhaps the most usual change he will find in them is in the form of the windows; for in many of our oldest churches, I mean such as were built within the first age after the Conquest, the windows, which were originally round-headed, have since been altered for others [36] of a more modern date, with pointed arches. Instances of this kind are numerous, and may often be discovered, by examining the courses of the stonework about them; unless the outward face of the building was new-cased at the time of their insertion, as it sometimes happened: without attending to this, we shall be at a loss to account for that mixture of round and pointed arches we often meet with in the same building.

There is perhaps hardly any one of our cathedral churches of this early Norman style (I mean with round arches and large pillars) re-

maining entire, though they were all originally so built; but specimens of it may still be seen in most of them. The greatest part of the cathedrals of Durham, Carlisle, Chester, Peterborough, Norwich, Rochester, Chichester, Oxford, Worcester, Wells, and Hereford; the tower and transept of Winchester, the nave of Gloucester, the nave and transept of Ely, the two towers of Exeter, some remains in the middle of the west front of Lincoln, with the lower parts of the two towers there; in Canterbury, great part of the choir, formerly called Conrade's choir (more ornamented than usual), the two towers called St. Gregory's and Anselm's, and the north-west tower of the same church; the collegiate church of Southwell, and part of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, are all of that style; and so was the nave and transept of old St. Paul's^d, London, before the fire in 1666; York and Lichfield have had all their parts so entirely rebuilt at separate times, since the disuse of round arches, that little or nothing of the old Norman work appears in them at this day. The present cathedral church of Salisbury is the only one that never had any mixture of this early Norman style in its composition: the old cathedral, begun soon after the Conquest

^d A view of the inside by Hollar is preserved in Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's.

and finished by Roger, that great and powerful bishop of Salisbury under Henry I. was at Old Sarum, and of the same kind; it stood in the north-west part of the city, and the foundations are still visible: if one may form a judgment of the whole by the ruins that remain, it does not appear indeed to have been so large as some other of those above mentioned; but it had a nave and two porticos or side-isses, and the east end of it was semicircular; its situation, on a barren chalky hill, exposed to the violence of the winds, and subject to great scarcity of water, and that within the precincts of the castle (whereby frequent disputes and quarrels arose between the members of the church and officers of the castle), gave occasion to the bishop and clergy in the reign of Henry III. to desert it, and remove to a more convenient situation about a mile distant towards the south-east, where Richard Poore, at that time bishop, begun the foundation of the present church on the fourth of the calends of May 1220. It consists entirely of that style which is now called (though I think improperly) *Gothic*; a light, neat, and elegant form of building; in which all the arches are (not round but) pointed, the pillars

* Price's Observations on the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, p. 8. Camden's Britan. col. 107. note y.

small

small and slender, and the outward walls commonly supported with buttresses.

The term Gothic, applied to architecture, was much used by our ancestors in the last century, when they were endeavouring to recover the ancient Grecian or Roman manner (I call it indifferently by either of those names, for the Romans borrowed it from the Greeks): whether they had then a retrospect to those particular times when the Goths ruled in the empire, or only used it as a term of reproach, to stigmatize the productions [37] of ignorant and barbarous times, is not certain; but I think they meant it of Roman architecture; not such, certainly, as had been in the age of Augustus (which they were labouring to restore), but such as prevailed in more degenerate times, when the art itself was almost lost, and particularly after the invasions of the Goths; in which state it continued many ages after without much alteration. Of this kind was our Saxon and earliest Norman manner of building, with circular arches and strong massive pillars, but really Roman architecture, and so was called by our Saxon ancestors themselves^f. Some writers call all our ancient architecture, without

^f Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 21. and Hist. Abb. Wire-muth. et Gyrw. p. 295, line 4.

distinction

distinction of round and pointed arches, Gothic : though I find of late the fashion is to apply the term solely to the latter ; the reason for which is not very apparent. The word Gothic no doubt implies a relation some way or other to the Goths ; and if so, then the old Roman way of building with round arches above described seems to have the clearest title to that appellation ; not that I imagine the Goths invented, or brought it with them ; but that it had its rise in the Gothic age, or about the time the Goths invaded Italy. The style of building with pointed arches is modern, and seems not to have been known in the world till the Goths ceased to make a figure in it. Sir Christopher Wren thought this should rather be called the Saracen way of building : the first appearance of it here was indeed in the time of the Crusades ; and that might induce him to think the archetype was brought hither by some who had been engaged in those expeditions, when they returned from the Holy Land. But the observations of several learned travellers ^s who have accurately surveyed the ancient mode of building in those parts of the world do by no means favour that opinion, or discover the least traces of it. Indeed I have not yet met with any satisfactory account of the

^s Pococke, Norden, Shaw.

origin of pointed arches, when invented, or where first taken notice of: some have imagined they might possibly have taken their rise from those arcades we see in the early Norman or Saxon buildings on walls, where the wide semi-circular arches cross and intersect each other, and form thereby, at their intersection, exactly a narrow and sharp-pointed arch. In the wall south of the choir at St. Cross is a facing of such wide round interlaced arches by way of ornament to a flat vacant space; only so much of it as lies between the legs of the two neighbouring arches, where they cross each other, is pierced through the fabric, and forms a little range of sharp-pointed windows: it is of king Stephen's time; whether they were originally pierced I cannot learn. But whatever gave occasion to the invention, there are sufficient proofs they were used here in the reign of Henry II. The west end of the old Temple church, built in that reign, and dedicated by Heraclius patriarch of the church of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem (as appears by the inscription^h lately over the door), is now remaining; and has, I think, pointed and round arches originally inserted; they are intermixed; the great arches are pointed, the windows above

^h Stow's Survey of London, p. 746. edit. 1754.

are round; the west door is a round arch richly ornamented; and before it a portico or porch of three arches, supported by two pillars; that opposite to the church-door is round, the other two pointed, but these have been rebuilt. The great western tower of Ely cathedral, built in the same reign by Geoffry Rydel bishop there, [38] who died A. D. 1189, consists of pointed arches. At York, under the choir, remains much of the old work, built by archbishop Roger in Henry the Second's reign; the arches are but just pointed, and rise on short round pillars, whose capitals are adorned with animals and foliage: many other instances of the same age might be recollected; and possibly some may occur of an earlier date; for this, like most novelties, we may suppose, was introduced by degrees.

In Henry the Third's reign the circular arch and massive column seem wholly to have been laid aside, and the pointed arch and slender pillar being substituted in their room, obtained such general approbation throughout the kingdom, that several parts of those strong and stately buildings that had been erected in the preceding age were taken down, and their dimensions enlarged, in order to make room for this new mode of building. The cathedral

I church

church of Salisbury is wholly of this kind of architecture; it was begun early in that reignⁱ, and finished in the year 1258. This church (says a competent judge^k of such matters) "may be justly accounted one of the best patterns of architecture in the age wherein it was built." To which we may add, that it has this advantage of all others, that the whole plan was laid out at once, and regularly pursued throughout the whole course of its building in the same style to its finishing; whence arise that uniformity, symmetry, and regular proportion observable in all the parts of it, not to be found in any other of our cathedral churches; which having been all originally built with circular arches and heavy pillars, and most of them afterwards renewed, in part or in whole, at different times, and under all the changes and variety of modes that have prevailed since the first introduction of pointed arches, now want that regularity and sameness of style so necessary to constitute an entire and perfect building. In the same reign were considerable additions made to several of our cathedral and other churches, especially at their east end; some of which, as they are still remaining, may serve to illustrate

ⁱ Godwin de Præful. Angliæ, p. 345.

^k Sir Chr. Wren, in Parentalia, p. 304.

the particular style then in use: such is that elegant structure at the east end of Ely cathedral¹, built by Hugh Norwold bishop of Ely^m, who, in the year 1234, took down the circular east end of the church, and laid the foundation of his new building, now called the Presbytery, which he finished in 1250. King Henry alsoⁿ, in the year 1245, ordered the east end, tower, and transept of the abbey church at Westminster, built by Edward the Confessor, to be taken down, in order to rebuild them at his own expense in a more elegant form: he did not live, it seems, to complete his whole design; but the difference of style in that part of the church from the other, westward of the cross, which was also rebuilt afterwards, indicates how far the work was carried on in that king's time, or soon after. "The new work of St. Paul's, so called, at the east end, above the choir, was begun in the year 1251. Also the new work of St. Paul's, to wit, the cross-isses, were begun to be new built in the year 1256^o." Besides these, we find there were a great many confi-

¹ The whole of the building called the Presbytery consists of nine arches; only the six easternmost, with that end, were built by bishop Norwold; the other three adjoining to the dome were afterwards rebuilt by bishop Hotham, in the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III.

^m MS. Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, B. 2. fol. 246.

ⁿ Matth. Paris Hist. p. 581. 861.

^o Stow's Survey of Lond. vol. i. p. 639.

derable

derable alterations and additions made to [39] several other cathedral and conventual churches and new buildings carrying on about the same time in different parts of the kingdom; some of which are particularly taken notice of by our historians ^{p.}

During the whole reign of Henry III. the fashionable pillars to our churches were of Purbec marble, very slender and round, encompassed with marble shafts a little detached, so as to make them appear of a proportionable thickness: these shafts had each of them a capital richly adorned with foliage, which together in a cluster formed one elegant capital for the whole pillar. This form, though graceful to the eye, was attended with an inconvenience, perhaps not apprehended at first; for the shafts designed chiefly for ornament, consisting of long pieces cut out horizontally from the quarry, when placed in a perpendicular situation were apt to split and break; which probably occasioned this manner to be laid aside in the next century. There was also some variety in the form of the vaultings in the same reign; these they generally chose to make of chalk, for its lightness; but the arches and principal ribs were of free-

^{p.} Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 273. line 44. p. 386. line 40. p. 752. line 11. et vol. iii. p. 270. Godwin de Præful. Angl. p. 371, 372. 461. 503. 505. 678. 742.

stone.

stone. The vaulting of Salisbury cathedral, one of the earliest, is high pitched, between arches and cross-springers only, without any further decorations; but some that were built soon after are more ornamental, rising from their imposts with more springers, and spreading themselves to the middle of the vaulting, are enriched at their intersection with carved orbs, foliage, and other devices—as in bishop Norwold's work above mentioned⁹.

As to the windows of that age, we find they were long, narrow, sharp-pointed, and usually decorated on the inside and outside with small marble shafts: the order and disposition of the windows varied in some measure according to the stories of which the building consisted: in one of three stories, the uppermost had commonly three windows within the compass of every arch, the centre one being higher than those on each side; the middle tier or story had two within the same space; and the lowest only one window, usually divided by a pillar or mullion, and often ornamented on the top with a trefoil, single rose, or some such simple decoration; which probably gave the hint for branching out the whole head into a variety of tracery and foliage, when the windows came

afterwards to be enlarged. The use of painted and stained glass in our churches is thought to have begun about this time^r. This kind of ornament, as it diminished the light, induced the necessity of making an alteration in the windows, either by increasing the number or enlarging their proportions; for though a gloominess rather than over-much light seems more proper for such sacred edifices, and "better calculated for recollecting the thoughts, and fixing pious affections," as the elegant writer last cited observes^s; yet without that alteration, our churches had been too dark and gloomy; as some of them now, being divested of that ornament, for the same reason appear over-light.

As for spires and pinnacles, with which our oldest churches are sometimes, and more modern ones are frequently decorated, I think they are not very ancient. The towers and turrets of churches built by the Normans, in the first century after [40] their coming, were covered, as platforms, with battlements or plain parapet walls; some of them indeed built within that period we now see finished with pinnacles or spires; which were additions since the modern style of pointed arches prevailed; for before we meet with none. One of the earliest spires we

^r *Ornaments of Churches considered*, p. 94.

^s *Ibid.*

have any account of is that of old St. Paul's^t, finished in the year 1222; it was, I think, of timber, covered with lead; but not long after, they begun to build them of stone, and to finish all their buttresses in the same manner.

Architecture under Edward I. was so nearly the same as in his father Henry the Third's time, that it is no easy matter to distinguish it. Improvements no doubt were then made, but it is difficult to define them accurately. The transition from one style to another is usually effected by degrees, and therefore not very remarkable at first, but it becomes so at some distance of time: towards the latter part indeed of his reign, and in that of Edward II. we begin to discover a manifest change of the mode as well in the vaulting and make of the columns as the formation of the windows. The vaulting was, I think, more decorated than before; for now the principal ribs arising from their impost, being spread over the inner face of the arch, run into a kind of tracery; or rather with transoms divided the roof into various angular compartments, and were usually ornamented in the angles with gilded orbs, carved heads or figures, and other embossed work. The columns retained something of their general form already described, that is, as an assemblage of small pillars or shafts; but

^t Stow's Survey of London, p. 639. edit. 1754.

these decorations were now not detached or separate from the body of the column, but made part of it, and being closely united and wrought up together, formed one entire, firm, slender, and elegant column. The windows were now greatly enlarged, and divided into several lights by stone mullions running into various ramifications above, and dividing the head into numerous compartments of different forms, as leaves, open flowers, and other fanciful shapes; and more particularly the great eastern and western windows (which became fashionable about this time) took up nearly the whole breadth of the nave, and were carried up almost as high as the vaulting; and being set off with painted and stained glass of most lively colours, with portraits of kings, saints, martyrs, and confessors, and other historical representations, made a most splendid and glorious appearance.

The three first arches of the presbytery adjoining to the dome and lantern of the cathedral church of Ely, begun the latter part of Edward the Second's reign, A. D. 1322, exhibit elegant specimens of these fashionable pillars, vaulting, and windows. St. Mary's chapel (now Trinity parish church) at Ely, built about the same time, is constructed on a different plan; but the vaulting and windows are in the same style. The plan of this chapel, generally accounted one of the

the most perfect structures of that age, is an oblong square; it has no pillars nor side-issles, but is supported by strong spiring buttresses, and was decorated on the outside with statues over the east and west windows; and within side also with statues, and a great variety of other sculpture well executed^u.

[41] The same style and manner of building prevailed all the reign of Edward III. and with regard to the principal parts and members, continued in use to the reign of Henry VII. and the greater part of Henry VIII.; only towards the latter part of that period the windows were less pointed and more open; a better taste for statuary began to appear; and indeed a greater care seems to have been bestowed on all the ornamental parts, to give them a lighter and higher finishing; particularly the ribs of the vaulting, which had been large, and seemingly formed for strength and support, became at length divided into such an abundance of parts issuing from their imposts as from a centre, and spreading themselves over the vaulting, where they were intermixed with such delicate sculpture as

^u The fashion of adorning the west end of our churches with rows of statues in tabernacles or niches, with canopies over them, obtained very soon after the introduction of pointed arches; as may be seen at Peterborough and Salisbury; and in later times we find them in a more improved taste, as at Lichfield and Wells.

gave the whole vault the appearance of embroidery, enriched with clusters of pendent ornaments, resembling the works Nature sometimes forms in caves and grottos, hanging down from their roofs. The most striking instance of this kind is, without exception, the vaulting of that sumptuous chapel of king Henry VII. at Westminster.

To what height of perfection modern architecture (I mean that with pointed arches, its chief characteristic) was carried on in this kingdom appears by that one complete specimen of it, the chapel founded by king Henry VI. in his college at Cambridge, and finished by king Henry VIII.^v The decorations, harmony, and pro-

^v It is formed on the same plan as St. Mary's chapel at Ely, and indeed the design is said to have been thence taken. King Henry VI. laid the foundations of the whole about the year 1441, which were raised five or six feet above ground in the west end, but much higher towards the east; for that end was covered in many years before the west end was finished. How far the work proceeded in the founder's time cannot be said with certainty: the troubles he met with in the latter part of his reign hindered the prosecution of it. Richard III, a few months before he was slain, had signed a warrant for 300*l.* out of the temporalities of the bishopric of Exeter, then in his hands, towards carrying on the building (MS. Harleian. N^o 433. fol. 209. b.); but I believe nothing more was done by him. Henry VII. undertook the work, and carried up the remainder to the battlements, and completed the timber roof: after his death, king Henry VIII. finished the whole fabric, as well the towers and finials as the vaulted roof within, and fitted up the choir in the manner we now see it.—One contract

proportions of the several parts of this magnificent fabric, its fine painted windows, and richly ornamented spreading roof, its gloom, and perspective, all concur in affecting the imagination with pleasure and delight, at the same time that they inspire awe and devotion. It is undoubtedly one of the most complete, elegant, and magnificent structures in the kingdom. And if, besides these larger works, we take into our view those specimens of exquisite workmanship we meet with in the smaller kinds of oratories, chapels^w, and monumental edifices, produced so late as the reign of Henry VIII. some of which are still in being, or at least so much of them as to give us an idea of their former grace and beauty; one can hardly help concluding, that architecture arrived at its highest point of glory in this kingdom but just before its final period.

tract for building the stone vault, and three of the towers, and twenty-one fynyalls (the upper finishing of the buttresses), dated the 4th of Henry VIII. A. D. 1512; and another for vaulting the two porches and sixteen chapels about the building, dated the following year, are still in the archives of the college.

^w Bishop West's chapel at the east end of the south isle of Ely cathedral, built in the reign of Henry VIII. affords an elegant specimen of the most delicate sculpture, and such variety of tracery, beautiful colouring, and gilding, as will not easily be met with in any work produced before that reign.

[42] At that time no country was better furnished and adorned with religious edifices, in all the variety of modes that had prevailed for many centuries past, than our own. The cathedral churches in particular were all majestic and stately structures. Next to them the monasteries, which had been erected in all parts of the kingdom, might justly claim the pre-eminence; they were, for the generality of them, fine buildings; and the churches and chapels belonging to some of them equalled the cathedrals in grandeur and magnificence, and many others were admired for their richness and elegance; and, whilst they stood, were without doubt the chief ornament to the several counties in which they were placed.

The state of these religious houses, on occasion of the reformation in religion then carrying on, became the object of public deliberation; but however necessary and expedient the total suppression of them might be judged at that time, yet certainly the means that were made use of to suppress them were not altogether the most justifiable, and the manner of disposing of them and their great revenues has been found in some respects detrimental to the true interests of religion. For had the churches belonging to them been spared, and made parochial in
those

those places where they were much wanted, and had the lands and impropriated tithes, which the several religious orders had unjustly taken from the secular clergy, and kept possession of by papal authority, been reserved out of the general sale of their revenues, and restored to their proper use, the maintenance of the clergy, to whom of right they belonged, we at this time should have had less cause to regret the general ruin of all those religious houses that ensued, and the present scanty provision that remains to the clergy in some of the largest cures in the kingdom.

The havoc and destruction of those sumptuous edifices that soon followed their surrender gave a most fatal turn to the spirit of building and adorning of churches; architecture in general was thereby discouraged, and that mode of it in particular which was then in a very flourishing state, and had continued so for more than three centuries, sunk under the weight, and was buried in the ruins of those numerous structures which fell at that time.

Unhappily, the orders and injunctions given to the several commissioners under king Henry VIII. and in the following reign during the minority of Edward VI. and likewise in queen Elizabeth's time, for removing and taking away all shrines and superstitious relics, and seizing
all

all superfluous jewels and plate, were often misapplied, carried to excess, and executed in such a manner as to have, at least in some instances, the appearance of sacrilegious avarice rather than of true zeal for the glory of God and the advancement of religion.

Be that as it may, certain it is that at this time, when most of the churches belonging to the religious orders were utterly ruined and destroyed, our cathedral and parochial churches and chapels suffered greatly; for they were divested and spoiled, not only of their images and superstitious relics, but of their necessary and most unexceptionable ornaments; and afterwards, by the outrages and violence committed on them in the last century, during the unhappy times of confusion in the great rebellion, they were reduced to a still more deplorable state and condition, and left [43] naked and destitute of all manner of just elegance, and of every mark and character of external decency.

It must be owned, that in several intermediate periods a zeal for the honour of God and his holy religion has not been wanting to heal these wounds, to repair and fitly readorn these sacred structures; but it has not been attended with the success that all wise and good men must wish for and desire. Many of our parochial churches still carry the marks of violence committed

mitted in those days ; others through inattention and neglect (besides the defects they are unavoidably subject to by age) are become ruinous and hastening to utter decay, unless timely supported : inasmuch that very few of them, excepting those in large and populous cities and towns, the number of which is small in comparison of the rest, can justly be considered as in a proper state of repair, decent and becoming structures consecrated to the public service of God. The chapels indeed belonging to the several colleges in the two universities (very few need to be excepted) claim our particular notice for the care and expense we find bestowed on them, the decent order in which they are kept, and the justness and elegance of their ornaments. And our cathedral churches, those monuments of the pious zeal and magnificence of our forefathers, we doubt not will soon appear again in a state becoming their dignity. The care and attention that is paid them by the present set of governors in their respective churches * deserves the highest
 enco-

* To instance the particular cathedral churches that have been repaired and beautified within the last thirty or forty years, and the several designs formed to bring them to a still more perfect state, would carry me beyond my present purpose. It may be sufficient only to intimate what has been done of late at York, Lincoln, Peterborough, Ely, Norwich, Chichester, Salisbury, &c. But as that particular scheme for raising a sufficient fund for these purposes, happily

encomiums ; and if we can make a proper and just estimate of what may reasonably be expected will be done, from what has already been done of late, and is still doing, for the furtherance of that desirable work, there is the fairest prospect, and the most ample ground of confidence, that the present age will stand distinguished by posterity for repairing and adorning those venerable structures, and transmitting them with advantage to the most distant times.

I cannot conclude these cursory remarks more properly than in the words of the elegant author of *Ornaments of Churches considered*^y : “ After the establishment of Christianity, the constitu-

happily fixed on by the members of the church of Lincoln, provides for the future as well as the present exigencies of the church, does honour to those who were the promoters of it, and may probably in time to come be adopted by most other cathedral and collegiate bodies ; I cannot here with any propriety omit taking notice, that about fifteen or sixteen years since, the Rt. Rev. Dr. John Thomas, then bishop of Lincoln (now of Salisbury), taking into consideration the ruinous state of that cathedral, and the small fund allotted for the repairs, held a general chapter, wherein it was unanimously agreed, that, for the time to come, *ten per cent.* of all fines, as well of the bishop as dean, dean and chapter, and all the prebendaries, should be deposited with the clerk of the works, towards repairing and beautifying the said cathedral : which has accordingly been paid ever since ; and care taken not only of carrying on the necessary repairs in the most durable and substantial manner, but due regard has likewise been paid to the propriety of the ornamental parts restored, and their conformity with the style of building they were intended to adorn.

^y Page 137.

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tions ecclesiastical and civil concurred with the spirit of piety which then prevailed, in providing structures for religious worship. In subsequent ages this spirit still increased, and occasioned an emulation in raising religious [44] edifices wherever it was necessary, or in adorning those which were already raised.—The fruits of this ardour we now reap. Since then the pious munificence of our ancestors has raised these sacred edifices, appropriated to religious uses, we are surely under the strongest obligations to repair as much as possible the injuries of time, and preserve them by every precaution from total ruin and decay. Where the particular funds appropriated to this purpose are insufficient, it becomes necessary to apply to the affluent, who cannot surely refuse to prevent by their liberal contributions the severe reproach of neglecting those structures which in all ages have been held sacred.

“ Horace tells the Roman people,

*Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosæ;*

and assures them their misfortunes will not end till they repair the temples of their gods:

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.*

This

This may safely be applied to the Christian world; since the fabrics appropriated to the purposes of religion can never be entirely neglected till a total disregard to religion first prevails, and men have lost a sense of every thing that is virtuous and decent. Whenever this is the melancholy condition of a nation, it cannot hope for, because it does not deserve the protection of Heaven, and it will be difficult to conceive a general reformation can take place till the temples of the Deity are restored to their proper dignity, and the public worship of God is conducted in the beauty of holiness."

CAPTAIN

CAPTAIN GROSE'S ESSAY^a.

As many of the notes quoted by Captain Grose from Mr. Bentham are very long, to avoid a repetition, such notes will be referred to, similarly to that below, mentioning the page where the passage is to be found in Mr. Bentham's Essay.

MOST of the writers who mention our ancient buildings, particularly the religious ones, notwithstanding the striking difference in the styles of their construction, class them all under the common denomination of Gothic: a general appellation by them applied to all buildings not exactly conformable to some one of the five orders of architecture. Our modern antiquaries, more accurately, divide them into Saxon, Norman, and Saracenic; or that species vulgarly, though improperly, called Gothic.

An opinion has long prevailed, chiefly countenanced by Mr. Somner^b, that the Saxon

^a This is Captain Grose's Preface to the Antiquities of England, on the subject of architecture.

^b Indeed, it is to be observed, that before the Norman advent most of our monasteries and church buildings were all of wood: "All the monasteries of my realm," faith king Edgar] — ["till the Normans brought it over with them from France." Somner's Antiq. Canterbury. (See Mr. Bentham's Essay, p. 18, 19, 20.)

churches

churches were mostly built with timber; and that the few they had of stone consisted only of upright walls, without pillars or arches; the construction of which, it is pretended, they were entirely ignorant of. Mr. Somner seems to have founded his opinion on the authority of Stowe, and a disputable interpretation of some words in king Edgar's charter^b: "Meaning no more, as I apprehend," says Mr. Bentham, in his curious Remarks on Saxon Churches, "than that the churches and monasteries were in general so much decayed, that the roofs were uncovered or bare to the timber; and the beams rotted by neglect, and overgrown with moss." It is true that Bede and others speak of churches built with timber; but these appear to have been only temporary erections, hastily run up for the present exigency^c; and for the other position, that the Saxons had neither arches or pillars in their buildings, it is not only contradicted by the testimony of several cotemporary or very ancient writers, who expressly mention them both, but also by the remains of some

^b "Quæ velut muscivis scindulis cariosisque tabulis, tigno tenuis visibiliter diruta."

^c Baptizatus est (sc. rex Edwinus, A. D. 627) autem Eboraci in die sancto Paschæ, in ecclesia St. Petri apostoli quam ipse de ligno citato opere erexit." Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 14.—"Curavit majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam, in cujus medio ipsum quod prius fecerat oratorium includeretur." Ibid.

edifices

edifices universally allowed to be of Saxon workmanship; one of them the ancient conventual church at Ely.

The writers here alluded to are, Alcuin, an ecclesiastic who lived in the eighth century; and, in a poem entitled *De Pontificibus et Ecclesiæ Ebor.* published by Dr. Gale A. D. 1691, describes the church of St. Peter at York; which he himself, in conjunction with Eanbald, had assisted archbishop Albert to rebuild. In this poem he particularizes by name both columns and arches, as may be seen in note^d.

The author of the Description of the Abbey of Ramsay in Huntingdonshire, which was founded A. D. 974, by Ailwood, styled alderman of all England, assisted therein by Oswald bishop of Worcester, in that account names both arches and columns, as is shown in note^e.

Richard prior of Hexham, who flourished about the year 1180, and left a description of that church, part of which was standing in his time, though built by Wilfrid, anno 674; he

^d "Aft nova basilicæ miræ structura diebus," &c.]

(This note is the same as Mr. Bentham gives, p. 46.)

^e "Duce quoque turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem, in fronte basilicæ pulchram intransibus insulam a longe spectaculum præbebat; major vero in quadrisidæ structuræ medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de alia ad aliam arcubus sibi invicem connexis, ne laxi defluerunt, deprimebat." Hist. Ramefienfis, inter XV. Scriptores, edit. per Gale.

likewise speaks of arches and columns with their capitals richly ornamented: see note^f.

Many more authorities might be cited, was not the matter sufficiently clear. Indeed, it is highly improbable that the Saxons could be ignorant of so useful a contrivance as the arch; many of them built by the Romans they must have had before their eyes; some of which have reached our days; two particularly are now remaining in Canterbury only; one in the castle yard, the other at Riding-gate. And it is not to be believed, that, once knowing them, and their convenience, they would neglect to make use of them; or, having used, would relinquish them. Besides, as it appears from undoubted authorities they procured workmen from the continent^g to construct their capital buildings

^f Profunditatem ipsius ecclesiæ criptis, et oratoriis subterraneis] This note is the same as Mr. Bentham quotes, P. 35.

^g Cum centoribus Ædde et Eona, et cementariis omnique pene artis ministerio in regionem suam revertens, cum regula Benedicti instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene melioravit. Eddii Vit. St. Wilfridi, cap. xiv. Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 2.—De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris ubicumque invenire poterat, cæmentarios et quoslibet alios industrios artifices secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat. Rich. Prior. Hagulst. lib. i. cap. 5.

^h St. Peter's church, in the monastery of Weremouth, in the neighbourhood of Gyrwi, was built by the famous Benedict Biscopius, in the year 675. This abbat went over into France to engage workmen to build his church after the Roman manner (as it is called by Bede in his History of Weremouth),

buildings "according to the Roman manner," this alone would be sufficient to confute that ill-grounded opinion; and at the same time proves that what we commonly call Saxon is in reality Roman architecture.

This was the style of building practised all over Europe; and it continued to be used by the Normans, after their arrival here, till the introduction of what is called the Gothic, which was not till about the end of the reign of

Weremouth), and brought them over for that purpose: he prosecuted this work with extraordinary zeal and diligence, insomuch that, within the compass of a year after the foundations were laid, he caused the roof to be put on, and divine service to be performed in it. Afterwards, when the building was near finished, he sent over to France for artificers skilled in the mystery of making glass (an art till that time unknown to the inhabitants of Britain) to glaze the windows both of the porticos and principal parts of the church; which work they not only executed, but taught the English nation that most useful art." Bentham's History of Ely, p. 31 of this edition.

What Bede here affirms of the abbat Benedict, that he first introduced the art of making glass into this kingdom, is by no means inconsistent with Eddius's account of bishop Wilfrid's glazing the windows of St. Peter's church at York about the year 669, *i. e.* seven or eight years before this time; for glass might have been imported from abroad by Wilfrid. But Benedict first brought over the artists who taught the Saxons the art of making glass. That the windows in churches were usually glazed in that age abroad, as well as in these parts, we learn from Bede; who, speaking of the church on Mount Olivet, about a mile from Jerusalem, says, "In the west front of it were eight windows, which on some occasions used to be illuminated with lamps, which shone so bright through the glass, that the mount seemed in a blaze." Bedæ Lib. de Locis Sanctis, cap. vi.

Henry II. ; so that there seems to be little or no ground for a distinction between the Saxon and Norman architecture. Indeed, it is said the buildings of the latter were of larger dimensions, both in height and area ; and they were constructed with a stone brought from Caen in Normandy, of which their workmen were peculiarly fond ; but this was simply an alteration in the scale and materials, and not in the manner of the building. The ancient parts of most of our cathedrals are of this early Norman work.

The characteristic marks of this style are these : The walls are very thick, generally without buttresses ; the arches, both within and without, as well as those over the doors and windows, semicircular, and supported by very solid, or rather clumsy columns, with a kind of regular base and capital : in short, plainness and solidity constitute the striking features of this method of building. Nevertheless, the architects of those days sometimes deviated from this rule : their capitals were adorned with carvings of foliage, and even animals ; and their massive columns decorated with small half-columns united to them, and their surfaces ornamented with spirals, squares, lozenge net-work, and other figures, either engraved or in relief : various instances of these may be seen in the cathedral
of

of Canterbury, particularly the under-croft, the monastery at Lindisfarn or Holy Island, the cathedral at Durham, and the ruined choir at Orford in Suffolk. Their arches too, though generally plain, sometimes came in for more than their share of ornaments; particularly those over the chief doors: some of these were overloaded with a profusion of carving.

It would be impossible to describe the different ornaments there crowded together; which seem to be more the extemporaneous product of a grotesque imagination than the result of any particular design. On some of these arches is commonly over the key-stone, represented God the Father, or our Saviour, surrounded with angels; and below a melange of foliage, animals, often ludicrous, and sometimes even indecent subjects. Partly of this sort is the great door at Barfreston church in Kent. The frizes round churches were also occasionally ornamented with grotesque human heads, monsters, figures playing on different musical instruments, and other whimsical devices, of which the church at Barfreston above mentioned, and that of Ad-derbury in Suffolk, afford striking specimens.

The idea of these artists seems to have been, that the greater number of small and dissimilar subjects they could there assemble, the more beautiful they rendered their work. It is not

however to be denied, that the extreme richness of these inferior parts served, by their striking contrast, to set off the venerable plainness of the rest of the building; a circumstance wanting in the Gothic structures; which, being equally ornamented all over, fatigue and distract, rather than gratify the eye.

I would not here be understood to assert that all the Saxon ornamented arches were devoid of beauty and taste; on the contrary, there are several wherein both are displayed, particularly in some belonging to the church of Ely. Besides the ornaments here mentioned, which seem always to have been left to the fancy of the sculptor, they had others, which were in common use, and are more regular. Most of them are mentioned by Mr. Bentham in his ingenious preface to the History of Ely^h; and specimens of them are given in the miscellaneous plate.

About the time of Alfred probably, but certainly in the reign of Edgarⁱ, high towers and cross isles were first introduced: the Saxon churches till then being only square or oblong buildings, generally turned semicircularly at the

^h "As to their arches, though they were for the most part plain and simple, yet some of their principal ones"—["as they contribute to ascertain the age of an edifice at first sight." (See Mr. Bentham, p. 68, 69, 70, to the end of the paragraph.)

ⁱ Vide note ^c p. 96.

east end. Towers at first scarcely rose higher than the roof; being intended chiefly as a kind of lantern, for the admittance of light. An addition to their height was in all likelihood suggested on the more common use of bells; which, though mentioned in some of our monasteries in the seventh century, were not in use in churches till near the middle of the tenth.

To what country or people the style of architecture called Gothic owes its origin is by no means satisfactorily determined^k. It is indeed generally conjectured to be of Arabian extraction, and to have been introduced into Europe by some persons returning from the crusades in the Holy Land. Sir Christopher Wren^l was
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^k "The style of building with pointed arches is modern, and seems not to have been known in the world till the Goths ceased," &c.]—"it is of king Stephen's time; whether they were originally pierced I cannot learn." (See Mr. Bentham, p. 75, 76.)

^l These surveys, and other occasional inspections of the most noted cathedral churches and chapels in England and foreign parts; a discernment of no contemptible art, ingenuity, and geometrical skill in the design and execution of some few, and an affectation of height and grandeur, though without regularity and good proportion in most of them, induced the surveyor to make some inquiry into the rise and progress of this Gothic mode, and to consider how the old Greek and Roman style of building, with the several regular proportions of columns, entablatures, &c. came, within a few centuries, to be so much altered, and almost universally disused.

He was of opinion (as has been mentioned in another place) that what we now vulgarly call the Gothic ought properly

perly and truly to be named the Saracenic architecture, refined by the Christians; which first of all began in the East, after the fall of the Greek empire, by the prodigious success of those people that adhered to Mahomet's doctrine; who, out of zeal to their religion, built mosques, caravanferas, and sepulchres wherever they came.

These they contrived of a round form, because they would not imitate the Christian figure of a cross, nor the old Greek manner, which they thought to be idolatrous; and for that reason all sculpture became offensive to them.

They then fell into a new mode of their own invention, though it might have been expected with better sense, considering the Arabians wanted not geometricians in that age; nor the Moors, who translated many of the most useful old Greek books. As they propagated their religion with great diligence, so they built mosques in all their conquered cities in haste.

The quarries of great marble, by which the vanquished nations of Syria, Egypt, and all the East had been supplied for columns, architraves, and great stones, were now deserted; the Saracens therefore were necessitated to accommodate their architecture to such materials, whether marble or freestone, as every country readily afforded. They thought columns and heavy cornices impertinent, and might be omitted; and affecting the round form for mosques, they elevated cupolas in some instances with grace enough.

The Holy war gave the Christians who had been there an idea of the Saracen works; which were afterwards by them imitated in the West: and they refined upon it every day, as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians (among which were yet some Greek refugees), and with them French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity of architects; procuring papal bulls for their encouragement, and particular privileges: they styled themselves Freemasons, and ranged from one nation to another as they found churches to be built (for very many in those ages were every where in building, through piety or emulation).

Their government was regular, and where they fixed near the building in hand they made a camp of huts. A surveyor governed in chief; every tenth man was called a warden, and overlooked each nine: the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriages. Those who have
seen

seen the exact accounts in records of the charge of the fabrics of some of our cathedrals, near four hundred years old, cannot but have a great esteem for their economy, and admire how soon they erected such lofty structures. Indeed, great height they thought the greatest magnificence: few stones were used but what a man might carry up a ladder on his back from scaffold to scaffold, though they had pulleys and spoked wheels upon occasion; but having rejected cornices, they had no need of great engines: stone upon stone was easily piled up to great heights; therefore the pride of their works was in pinnacles and steeples.

In this they essentially differed from the Roman way, who laid all their mouldings horizontally, which made the best perspective: the Gothic way, on the contrary, carried all their mouldings perpendicular; so that the ground-work being settled, they had nothing else to do but to spire all up as they could. Thus they made their pillars of a bundle of little torus's, which they divided into more when they came to the roof; and these torus's split into many small ones, and traversing one another, gave occasion to the tracery work, as they call it, of which the society were the inventors. They used the sharp-headed arch, which would rise with little centring, required lighter keystones and less buttment, and yet would bear another row of doubled arches, rising from the keystone; by the diversifying of which they erected eminent structures; such as the steeples of Vienna, Strasburg, and many others. They affected steeples, though the Saracens themselves most used cupolas. The church of St. Mark at Venice is built after the Saracen manner. Glass began to be used in windows, and a great part of the outside ornaments of churches consisted in the tracery works of disposing the mullions of the windows for the better fixing in of the glass. Thus the work required fewer materials, and the workmanship was for the most part performed by flat moulds, in which the wardens could easily instruct hundreds of artificers. It must be confessed, this was an ingenious compendium of work suited to these northern climates; and I must also own, that works of the same height and magnificence in the Roman way would be very much more expensive than in the other Gothic manner, managed with judgment. But as all modes, when once the old rational ways are despised, turn at last into unbounded fancies, this tracery induced too much mincing of the stone into open battlements, and spindling pinnacles, and little carvings

carvings without proportion of distance; so the essential rules of good perspective and duration were forgot. But about two hundred years ago, when ingenious men began to reform the Roman language to the purity which they assigned and fixed to the time of Augustus, and that century; the architects also, ashamed of the modern barbarity of building, began to examine carefully the ruins of old Rome and Italy, to search into the orders and proportions, and to establish them by inviolable rules; so to their labours and industry we owe in a great degree the restoration of architecture.

The ingenious Mr. Evelyn makes a general and judicious comparison, in his Account of Architecture, of the ancient and modern styles; with reference to some of the particular works of Inigo Jones, and the surveyor; which in a few words give a right idea of the majestic symmetry of the one, and the absurd system of the other.—“The ancient Greek and Roman architecture answer all the perfections required in a faultless and accomplished building; such as for so many ages were so renowned and reputed by the universal suffrages of the civilized world; and would doubtless have still subsisted and made good their claim, and what is recorded of them, had not the Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous nations subverted and demolished them, together with that glorious empire where those stately and pompous monuments stood; introducing in their stead a certain fantastical and licentious manner of building, which we have since called modern or Gothic:—congestions of heavy, dark, melancholy, and monkish piles, without any just proportion, use, or beauty, compared with the truly ancient; so as when we meet with the greatest industry and expensive carving, full of fret and lamentable imagery, sparing neither of pains nor cost, a judicious spectator is rather distracted, or quite confounded, than touched with that admiration which results from the true and just symmetry, regular proportion, union, and disposition; and from the great and noble manner in which the august and glorious fabrics of the ancients are executed.”

It was after the irruption of swarms of those truculent people from the north, the Moors and Arabs from the south and east, overrunning the civilized world, that wherever they fixed themselves they soon began to debauch this noble and useful art; when, instead of those beautiful orders, so majestic and proper for their stations, becoming variety, and other
ornamental

Ornamental accessories, they set up those slender and misshapen pillars, or rather bundles of staves; and other incongruous props, to support incumbent weights and ponderous arched roofs, without entablature; and though not without great industry (as M. d'Aviler well observes), nor altogether naked of gaudy sculpture, trite and busy carvings, it is such as gluts the eye rather than gratifies and pleases it with any reasonable satisfaction. For proof of this, without travelling far abroad, I dare report myself to any man of judgment, and that has the least taste of order and magnificence, if, after he has looked a while upon king Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster, gazed on its sharp angles, jetties, narrow lights, lame statues, lace, and other cut work and crinkle-crinkle, and shall then turn his eyes on the Banqueting house built at Whitehall by Inigo Jones, after the ancient manner; or on what his Majesty's surveyor, Sir Christopher Wren, has advanced at St. Paul's, and consider what a glorious object the cupola, porticos, colonnades, and other parts present to the beholder; or compare the schools and library at Oxford with the theatre there; or what he has built at Trinity College in Cambridge; and since all these, at Greenwich and other places, by which time our home traveller will begin to have a just idea of the ancient and modern architecture; I say, let him well consider, and compare them judiciously, without partiality and prejudice, and then pronounce which of the two manners strikes the understanding as well as the eye with the more majesty and solemn greatness; though in so much a plainer and simple dress, conform to the respective orders and entablature: and accordingly determine to whom the preference is due: not as we said, that there is not something of solid, and oddly artificial too, after a sort. But then the universal and unreasonable thickness of the walls, clumsy buttresses, towers, sharp-pointed arches, doors, and other apertures without proportion; nonsensical insertions of various marbles impertinently placed; turrets and pinnacles thick set with monkeys and chimeras, and abundance of busy work, and other incongruities, dissipate and break the angles of the sight, and so confound it, that one cannot consider it with any steadiness, where to begin or end; taking off from that noble air and grandeur, bold and graceful manner, which the ancients had so well and judiciously established. But in this sort have they and their followers ever since filled not Europe alone, but Asia and Africa besides,

of that opinion^m; and it has been subscribed to by most writers who have treated on this subjectⁿ. If the supposition is well grounded, it

sides, with mountains of stone; vast and gigantic buildings indeed! but not worthy the name of architecture, &c. (Wren's Parentalia, p. 306.)

^m This we now call the Gothic manner of architecture (so the Italians called what was not after the Roman style), though the Goths were rather destroyers than builders: I think it should with more reason be called the Saracen style; for those people wanted neither arts nor learning; and after we in the West had lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their Arabic books, what they with great diligence had translated from the Greeks. They were zealots in their religion; and wherever they conquered (which was with amazing rapidity) erected mosques and caravanseras in haste, which obliged them to fall into another way of building; for they built their mosques round, disliking the Christian form of a cross. The old quarries, whence the ancients took their large blocks of marble for whole columns and architraves, were neglected; and they thought both impertinent. Their carriage was by camels; therefore their buildings were fitted for small stones, and columns of their own fancy, consisting of many pieces; and their arches pointed without key-stones, which they thought too heavy. The reasons were the same in our northern climates, abounding in freestone, but wanting marble. (Wren's Parentalia, p. 297.)

ⁿ Modern Gothic, as it is called, is deduced from a different quarter; it is distinguished by the lightness of its work, by the excessive boldness of its elevations, and of its sections; by the delicacy, profusion, and extravagant fancy of its ornaments. The pillars of this kind are as slender as those of the ancient Gothic are massive; such productions, so airy, cannot admit the heavy Goths for their author; how can be attributed to them a style of architecture which was only introduced in the tenth century of our æra? several years after the destruction of all those kingdoms which the Goths had raised upon the ruins of the Roman empire, and at a time when the very name of Goth was entirely forgotten;

it seems likely that many ancient buildings of this kind, or at least their remains, would be found in those countries from whence it is said to have been brought; parts of which have at

forgotten: from all the marks of the new architecture it can only be attributed to the Moors; or, what is the same thing, to the Arabians or Saracens; who have expressed in their architecture the same taste as in their poetry; both the one and the other falsely delicate, crowded with superfluous ornaments, and often very unnatural; the imagination is highly worked up in both; but it is an extravagant imagination; and this has rendered the edifices of the Arabians (we may include the other orientals) as extraordinary as their thoughts. If any one doubts of this assertion, let us appeal to any one who has seen the mosques and palaces of Fez, or some of the cathedrals in Spain, built by the Moors: one model of this sort is the church at Burgos; and even in this island there are not wanting several examples of the same: such buildings have been vulgarly called Modern Gothic, but their true appellation is Arabic, Saracenic, or Moreque. This manner was introduced into Europe through Spain; learning flourished among the Arabians all the time that their dominion was in full power; they studied philosophy, mathematics, physic, and poetry. The love of learning was at once excited; in all places that were not at too great distance from Spain these authors were read; and such of the Greek authors as they had translated into Arabic, were from thence turned into Latin. The physic and philosophy of the Arabians spread themselves in Europe, and with these their architecture: many churches were built after the Saracenic mode; and others with a mixture of heavy and light proportions: the alteration that the difference of the climate might require was little, if at all, considered. In most southern parts of Europe and in Africa the windows (before the use of glass), made with narrow apertures, and placed very high in the walls of the building, occasioned a shade and darkness within, and were all contrived to guard against the fierce rays of the sun; yet were ill-suited to those latitudes, where that glorious luminary shades its feebleness influences, and is rarely seen but through a watery cloud. (Rioux's Architecture.)

different

different times been visited by several curious travellers, many of whom have made designs of what they thought most remarkable. Whether they overlooked or neglected these buildings, as being in search of those of more remote antiquity, or whether none existed, seems doubtful. Cornelius le Brun, an indefatigable and inquisitive traveller, has published many views of eastern buildings, particularly about the Holy Land; in all these only one Gothic ruin, the church near Acre, and a few pointed arches, occur; and those built by the Christians, when in possession of the country. Near Ispahan, in Persia, he gives several buildings with pointed arches; but these are bridges and caravanferas, whose age cannot be ascertained; consequently, are as likely to have been built after as before the introduction of this style into Europe.

At Ispahan itself, the Mey Doen, or grand market-place, is surrounded by divers magnificent Gothic buildings; particularly the royal mosque, and the Talael Ali-kapie, or theatre. The magnificent bridge of Alla-werdie-chan, over the river Zenderoet, five hundred and forty paces long, and seventeen broad, having thirty-three pointed arches, is also a Gothic structure: but no mention is made when or by whom these were built. The Chiaer Baeg, a royal garden, is decorated with Gothic buildings; but these were,

were, it is said, built only in the reign of Scha Abbas, who died anno 1629.

One building indeed at first seems as if it would corroborate this assertion, and that the time when it was erected might be in some degree fixed; it is the tomb of Abdalla°, one of the apostles of Mahomet, probably him surnamed Abu Becr.

* Le vingt-troisième de ce mois nous allames encore en ceremonie au village de Kaladoen, à une bonne lieuë de la ville, pour y voir le tombeau d'Abdulla. On dit que ce saint avoit autrefois l'inspection des eux d'Emoen Offeyn, et qu'il étoit un des douze disciples, ou à ce qu'ils prétendent, un des apôtres de leur prophete. Ce tombeau, qui est placé entre quatre murailles, revêtues de petites pierres, est de marbre gris, orné de caracteres Arabes, et entouré de lampes de cuivre étamées; on y monte par quinze marches d'un pied de haut, et l'on y en trouve quinze autres un peu plus élevées, qui conduisent à une platte forme quarée, qui a trente-deux pieds de large de chaque côte, a sur le devant de la quelle il y a deux colonnes de petites pierres, entre les quelles il s'en trouve de bleuës. La base en a cinq pieds de large, et une petite porte, avec un escalier à noyau qui a aussi quinze marches. Elles sont fort endommagées par les injures du temps, et il paroît qu'elles ont été une fois plus élevées qu'elles ne sont à présent. L'escalier en est si étroit qu'il faut qu'un homme de taille ordinaire se deshaille pour y monter, comme je fis, et passai la moitié du corps au dessus de la colonne. Mais ce qu'il y a de plus extraordinaire, est que lors qu'on ébranle une des colonnes en faisant un mouvement du corps; l'autre en ressent les secouffes, et est agitée du même; c'est une chose dont j'ai fait l'épreuve, sans en pouvoir comprendre, ni apprendre la raison. Pendant que j'étois occupé à dessiner ce bâtiment, qu'on trouve au N° 71, un jeune garçon de douze à treize ans, bossu par devant, grimpa en dehors, le long de la muraille, jusqu'au haut de la colonne dont il fit le tour, et redescendit de même sans se tenir à quoi que ce soit, qu'aux petites pierres, de ce bâtiment, aux endroits où la chaux en étoit détachée; et il ne le fit que pour nous divertir. (Voyage de Le Brun, tom. i. p. 186.)

If this tomb is supposed to have been built soon after his death, estimating that even to have happened according to the common course of nature, it will place its erection about the middle of the seventh century: but this is by far too conjectural to be much depended on. It also seems as if this was not the common style of building at that time, from the temple of Mecca; where, if any credit is to be given to the print of it, in Sale's Koran, the arches are semicircular. The tomb here mentioned has one evidence to prove its antiquity; that of being damaged by the injuries of time and weather. Its general appearance much resembles the east end of the chapel belonging to Ely House, London; except that which is filled up there by the great window: in the tomb is an open pointed arch; where also the columns, or pinnacles, on each side are higher in proportion.

Some have supposed that this kind of architecture was brought into Spain by the Moors (who possessed themselves of a great part of that country the beginning of the eighth century, which they held till the latter end of the fifteenth); and that from thence, by way of France^p, it was introduced into England. This
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^p The Saracen mode of building seen in the East soon spread over Europe, and particularly in France, the fashions
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at first seems plausible ; though the only instance which seems to corroborate this hypothesis, or

of which nation we affected to imitate in all ages, even when we were at enmity with it. Nothing was thought magnificent that was not high beyond measure, with the flutter of arch buttresses, so we call the sloping arches that poise the higher vaultings of the nave. The Romans always concealed their buttments, whereas the Normans thought them ornamental. These I have observed are the first things that occasion the ruin of cathedrals, being so much exposed to the air and weather ; the coping, which cannot defend them, first failing, and if they give way the vault must spread. Pinnacles are of no use, and as little ornament. The pride of a very high roof, raised above reasonable pitch, is not for duration, for the lead is apt to slip ; but we are tied to this indiscreet form, and must be contented with original faults in the first design. But that which is most to be lamented, is the unhappy choice of the materials : the stone is decayed four inches deep, and falls off perpetually in great scales. I find after the Conquest all our artists were fetched from Normandy ; they loved to work in their own Caen stone, which is more beautiful than durable. This was found expensive to bring hither ; so they thought Ryegate stone, in Surry, the nearest like their own, being a stone that would saw and work like wood, but not durable, as is manifest : and they used this for the ashlar of the whole fabric, which is now disfigured in the highest degree. This stone takes in water, which, being frozen, scales off ; whereas good stone gathers a crust and defends itself, as many of our English freestones do. And though we have also the best oak timber in the world ; yet these senseless artificers, in Westminster hall and other places, would work their chefnuts from Normandy : that timber is not natural to England ; it works finely, but sooner decays than oak. The roof in the abbey is oak, but mixed with chefnut, and wrought after a bad Norman manner, that does not secure it from stretching and damaging the walls ; and the water of the gutters is ill carried off. All this is said, the better, in the next place, to represent to your lordship what has been done, and is wanting still to be carried on ; as time and money is allowed to make a substantial and durable repair. (Wren's Parentalia, p. 298.)

at least the only one proved by authentic drawings, is the mosque at Cordova in Spain; where, according to the views published by Mr. Swinburne, although most of the arches are circular, or horse-shoe fashion, there are some pointed arches, formed by the intersection of two segments of a circle. This mosque was, as it is there said, begun by Abdoulrahman the first, who laid the foundation two years before his death, and was finished by his son Hiffem or Ifcan about the year 800. If these arches were part of the original structure, it would be much in favour of the supposition; but, as it is also said, that edifice has been more than once altered and enlarged by the Mahometans, before any well-grounded conclusion can be drawn, it is necessary to ascertain the date of the present building.

There are also several pointed arches in the Moorish palace at Grenada, called the Alhambra; but as that was not built till the year 1273, long after the introduction of pointed arches into Europe, they are as likely to be borrowed by the Moors from the Christians, as by the Christians from the Moors. The greatest peculiarity in the Moorish architecture is the horse-shoe arch^a,

^a As delineation gives a much clearer idea of forms and figures than the most laboured description, the reader is referred to the plates in Swinburne's Travels, where there are many horse-shoe arches, both round and pointed.

which,

which, containing more than a semicircle, contracts towards its base, by which it is rendered unfit to bear any considerable weight, being solely calculated for ornament. In Romeſy church, Hampshire, there are ſeveral arches ſomewhat of that form.

In the drawings of the Moorish buildings given in *Les Delices de l'Eſpagne*, ſaid to be faithful representations, there are no traces of the ſtyle called Gothic architecture; there, as well as in the Moorish caſtle at Gibraltar, the arches are all repreſented circular. Perhaps a more general knowledge of theſe buildings would throw ſome lights on the ſubject, at preſent almoſt entirely enveloped in obſcurity: poſſibly the Moors may, like us, at different periods, have uſed different manners of building. Having thus in vain attempted to diſcover from whence we had this ſtyle, let us turn to what is more certainly known, the time of its introduction into this kingdom, and the ſucceſſive improvements and changes it has undergone.

Its firſt appearance here was towards the latter end of the reign of king Henry II. but it was not at once thoroughly adopted; ſome ſhort ſolid columns, and ſemicircular arches, being retained and mixed with the pointed ones. An example of this is ſeen in the weſt end of the

old Temple church; and at York, where, under the choir, there remains much of the ancient work; the arches of which are but just pointed, and rise on short round pillars: both these were built in that reign. More instances might be brought, was not the thing probable in itself; new inventions, even when useful, not being readily received. The great west tower of Ely cathedral was built by bishop Rydel, about this time: those arches were all pointed.

In the reign of Henry III. this manner of building seems to have gained a complete footing; the circular giving place to the pointed arch, and the massive column yielding to the slender pillar. Indeed, like all novelties, when once admitted, the rage of fashion made it become so prevalent, that many of the ancient and solid buildings, erected in former ages, were taken down, in order to be re-edified in the new taste; or had additions patched to them of this mode of architecture. The present cathedral church of Salisbury was begun early in this reign, and finished in the year 1258. It is entirely in the Gothic style, and, according to Sir Christopher Wren, may be justly accounted one of the best patterns of architecture of the age in which it was built. Its excellency is undoubtedly in a great measure owing to its being constructed on

one plan; whence arises that symmetry and agreement of parts not to be met with in many of our other cathedral churches, which have mostly been built at different times, and in a variety of styles. The fashionable manner of building at this period, and till the reign of Henry VIII. as is described by Mr. Bentham, see in note¹.

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. or rather towards the latter end of that of Henry VII. when brick building became common, a new kind of low pointed arch grew much in use: it was described from four centres, was very round at the haunches, and the angle at the top was very obtuse. This sort of arch is to be found in every one of cardinal Wolsey's buildings; also at West Sheen; an ancient brick gate at Mile End, called King John's Gate; and in the great gate of the palace of Lambeth. From this time Gothic architecture began to decline, and was soon after supplanted by a mixed style, if one may venture to call it one; wherein the Grecian and Gothic, however discordant and irreconcilable, are jumbled together. Concerning this mode of building, Mr. Warton, in his Observations on

¹ "During the whole reign of Henry III. the fashionable pillars to our churches were"—["one can hardly help concluding, that architecture arrived at its highest point of glory in this kingdom but just before its final period." (See Mr. Bentham, p. 80—87.)

Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, has the following anecdotes and remarks :

———Did arise
On stately pillours, framd afer the Doricke guise.

“ Although the Roman or Grecian architecture did not begin to prevail in England till the time of Inigo Jones ; yet our communication with the Italians, and our imitation of their manners, produced some specimens of that style much earlier. Perhaps the earliest is Somerset house in the Strand, built about the year 1549, by the duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward VI. The monument of bishop Gardiner, in Winchester cathedral, made in the reign of Mary, about 1555, is decorated with Ionic pillars ; Spenser's verses here quoted bear an allusion to some of these fashionable improvements in building, which at this time were growing more and more into esteem. Thus also bishop Hall, who wrote about the same time ; viz. 1598 :

There findest thou some stately Doricke frame,
Or neat Ionicke work.——

But these ornaments were often absurdly introduced into the old Gothic style ; as in the magnificent portico of the Schools at Oxford, erected about the year 1613 ; where the builder, in a
Gothic

Gothic edifice, has affectedly displayed his universal skill in the modern architecture, by giving us all the five orders together. However, most of the great buildings of queen Elizabeth's reign have a style peculiar to themselves both in form and finishing; where, though much of the old Gothic is retained, and great part of the new taste is adopted, yet neither predominates; while both, thus distinctly blended, compose a fantastic species hardly reducible to any class or name. One of its characteristics is the affectation of large and lofty windows; where, says Bacon, you shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun."

The marks which constitute the character of Gothic or Saracenic architecture, are, its numerous and prominent buttresses, its lofty spires and pinnacles, its large and ramified windows, its ornamental niches or canopies, its sculptured fountains, the delicate lace-work of its fretted roofs, and the profusion of ornaments lavished indiscriminately over the whole building: but its peculiar distinguishing characteristics are, the small clustered pillars and pointed arches, formed by the segments of two intersecting circles; which arches, though last brought into use, are evidently of more simple and obvious construction than the semicircular ones; two flat stones,

with their tops inclined to each other, and touching, form its rudiments; a number of boughs stuck into the ground opposite each other, and tied together at the top, in order to form a bower, exactly describe it: whereas a semicircular arch appears the result of deeper contrivance, as consisting of more parts; and it seems less probable, chance, from whence all these inventions were first derived, should throw several wedge-like stones between two set perpendicular, so as exactly to fit and fill up the interval.

Bishop Warburton, in his notes on Pope's *Epistles*, in the octavo edition, has some ingenious observations on this subject, which are given in the notes: to which it may not be improper

* Our Gothic ancestors had juster and manlier notions of magnificence, on Greek and Roman ideas, than these mimics of taste who profess to study only classic elegance: and because the thing does honour to the genius of those barbarians, I shall endeavour to explain it. All our ancient churches are called without distinction Gothic, but erroneously. They are of two sorts; the one built in the Saxon times, the other in the Norman. Several cathedral and collegiate churches of the first sort are yet remaining, either in whole or in part; of which this was the original: when the Saxon kings became Christians, their piety (which was the piety of the times) consisted chiefly in building churches at home, and performing pilgrimages abroad, especially to the Holy Land: and these spiritual exercises assisted and supported one another. For the most venerable as well as most elegant models of religious edifices were then in Palestine. From these the Saxon builders took the whole of their ideas, as may be seen by comparing the drawings which travellers have given us of the churches yet standing
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proper to add some particulars relative to Caen
stone,

in that country, with the Saxon remains of what we find at home; and particularly in that sameness of style in the latter religious edifices of the knights templars (professedly built upon the model of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem) with the earlier remains of our Saxon edifices. Now the architecture of the Holy Land was Grecian, but greatly fallen from its ancient elegance. Our Saxon performance was indeed a bad copy of it; and as much inferior to the works of St. Helene and Justinian as theirs were to the Grecian models they had followed: yet still the footsteps of ancient art appeared in the circular arches, the entire columns, the division of the entablature into a sort of architrave, frieze, and cornice, and a solidity equally diffused over the whole mass. This, by way of distinction, I would call the Saxon architecture. But our Norman works had a very different original. When the Goths had conquered Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate and the religion of the old inhabitants had ripened their wits and inflamed their mistaken piety (both kept in exercise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens, through emulation of their service and aversion to their superstition), they struck out a new species of architecture, unknown to Greece and Rome; upon original principles, and ideas much nobler than what had given birth even to classical magnificence. For this northern people having been accustomed, during the gloom of Paganism, to worship the Deity in groves (a practice common to all nations), when their new religion required covered edifices, they ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves as nearly as the distance of architecture would permit; at once indulging their old prejudices and providing for their present conveniences by a cool receptacle in a sultry climate; and with what skill and success they executed the project, by the assistance of Saracen architects, whose exotic style of building very luckily suited their purpose, appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular avenue of well-grown trees, intermixing their branches over head, but it presently put him in mind of the long vista through the Gothic cathedral; or even entered one of the larger and more elegant edifices of this kind, but it presented to his imagination an avenue of trees; and this alone is what can be truly called the Gothic style

stone, with which many of our ancient cathedrals are built, as extracted from some curious

style of building. Under this idea of so extraordinary a species of architecture, all the irregular transgressions against art, all the monstrous offences against nature, disappear; every thing has its reason, every thing is in order, and an harmonious whole arises from the studious application of means proper and proportioned to the end. For could the arches be otherwise than pointed, when the workmen were to imitate that curve which branches of two opposite trees make by their insertion with one another; or could the columns be otherways than split into distinct shafts when they were to represent the stems of a clump of trees growing close together? On the same principles they formed the spreading ramification of the stone-work in the windows, and the stained glass in the interstices; the one to represent the branches, and the other the leaves, of an opening grove, and both concurred to preserve that gloomy light which inspires religious reverence and dread. Lastly, we see the reason of their studied aversion to apparent solidity in these stupendous masses, deemed so absurd by men accustomed to the apparent as well as real strength of Grecian architecture. Had it been only a wanton exercise of the artist's skill to show he could give real strength without the appearance of any, we might indeed admire his superior science; but we must needs condemn his ill judgment. But when one considers that this surprising lightness was necessary to complete the execution of his idea of a sylvan place of worship, one cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the contrivance. This too will account for the contrary qualities in what I call the Saxon architecture. These artists copied, as has been said, from the churches in the Holy Land, which were built on the models of the Grecian architecture, but corrupted by prevailing barbarism; and still further depraved by a religious idea. The first places of Christian worship were sepulchres and subterraneous caverns, low and heavy from necessity. When Christianity became the religion of the state, and sumptuous temples began to be erected, they yet, in regard to the first pious ages, preserved the massive style, made still more venerable by the church of the Holy Sepulchre; where this style was, on a double account, followed and aggravated.

records

records originally given in Dr. Ducarrel's Anglo Norman Antiquities^t.

I shall close this article with recommending it to such as desire more knowledge of these matters than is communicated in this flight compilation, to peruse Wren's Parentalia, War-

^t In page 7 of his preface, it is said, that the^r keeps of the ancient castles were coined, and their arches faced with stone, brought from Caen in Normandy. A curious gentleman has favoured me with the following particulars respecting this stone: formerly vast quantities of this stone were brought to England; London bridge, Westminster abbey, and many other edifices, being built therewith. See Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1633, p. 31, 32, &c. See also Rot. Liter. patent. Norman. de anno 6 Hen. V. p. 1, m. 22.—“De quarreris albæ petræ in suburbio villæ de Caen annexandis dominio regis pro reparatione ecclesiarum, castrorum, et fortalitorum, tam in Anglia quam in Normannia.” See also Rot. Normanniæ, de anno 9 Hen. V. m. 31, dorf.—“Arrestando naves pro transportatione lapidum et petrarum, pro constructione abbatiæ sancti Petri de Westminster a partibus Cadomi.” Ibid. m. 30.—“Pro domo Jesu de Bethleem de Shene, de lapidibus in quarreris circa villam de Cadomo capiendis pro constructione ecclesiæ, claustrum, et cellarum domus prædictæ.” See also Rot. Franciæ, de anno 35 Hen. VI. m. 2.—“Pro salvo conductu ad supplicationem abbatis et conventus beati Petri Westmonasterii, pro mercatoribus de Caen in Normannia, veniendis in Angliam cum lapidibus de Caen pro reparatione monasterii prædicti. Teste rege apud Westm. 15 die Augusti.” See also Rot. Franciæ, de anno 38 Hen. VI. m. 23.—“De salvo conductu pro nave de Caen in regnum Angliæ revenienda, cum lapidibus de Caen pro reparatione monasterii de Westminster. Teste rege apud Westm. 9 die Maii.”—Now, however, the exportation of this stone out of France is so strictly prohibited, that when it is to be sent by sea, the owner of the stone, as well as the master of the vessel on board which it is to be shipped, is obliged to give security that it shall not be sold to foreigners.

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ton's Thoughts on Spenser's Fairy Queen, and the Ornaments of Churches considered; but above all, Mr. Bentham's Dissertation on Saxon and Norman architecture, prefixed to his History of Ely, to which the author of this account esteems himself much beholden.

REV.

REV. J. MILNER'S ESSAY

On the Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch^a.

THE church of St. Cross, which is regularly built, in the cathedral form, consists of a nave and side isles 150 feet long, a transept which measures 120 feet, and a large square tower over the intersection. It is entirely the work of De Blois, except the front and upper story of the west end, which are of a latter date, and seem to have been an effort of that great encourager of the arts^b to produce a style of architecture more excellent, and better adapted to ecclesiastical purposes, than what had hitherto been

^a History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 148.

^b "Hic quicquam in bestiis, quicquam in avibus, quicquam in monstis terrarum variis peregrinum magis, et præ oculis hominum vehementius obtupendum et admirandum audire vel excogitare potuerat, tanquam innatæ nobilitatis indicia congerebat. Præterea opera mira, palatia sumptuosissima, stagna grandia, ductus aquarum difficiles ipogeoſque, varia per loca meatus, denique ea quæ regibus terrarum magnis difficillima factu viſa ſunt hætenus et quaſi deſperata, effectui mancipari tanquam facillima, mira magnanimitate procurabat." Girald. Cambrenſ. De Hen. Bleſ. Copula Tergemina.

known.

known. This style accordingly soon after made its appearance in a regular shape. The building before us seems to be a collection of architectural essays, with respect to the disposition and form both of the essential parts and of the subordinate ornaments. Here we find the ponderous Saxon pillar of the same dimensions in its circumference as in its length, which, however, supports an incipient pointed arch. The windows and arches are some of them short, with semicircular heads, and some of them immoderately long, and terminating like a lance. Others are in the horse-shoe form, of which the entrance into the north porch is the most curious specimen. In one place we have a curious triangular arch. The capitals and bases of the columns alternately vary in their form as well as in their ornaments. The same circumstance is observable in the ribs of the arches, especially in the north and south isles, some of them being plain, others profusely embellished, and in different styles, even within the same arch. Here we view almost every kind of Saxon and Norman ornament, the chevron, the billet, the hatched, the pellet, the fret, the indented, the nebulé, the wavey, all superiorly executed. But what is chiefly deserving of attention in this ancient church is, what may perhaps be considered as the first regular step to the introduction of that beautiful

tiful style of architecture properly called the *pointed*, and abusively the *Gothic*, order; concerning the origin of which most of our antiquaries have run into the most absurd systems.

Sir Christopher Wren, whose authority has seduced bishop Lowth^b, Warton, and most other writers on this subject, observing that this style of building prevailed during the time that the nobility of this and the neighbouring countries were in the habit of resorting, in quality of crusaders, to the East, then subject to the Saracens, fancied that they learnt it there, and brought it back with them into Europe. Hence they termed it the Saracenic style. But it is to be remembered, that the first or grand crusade took place at the latter end of the eleventh century, long before the appearance of the pointed architecture in England, France, or Italy, which, if it had been copied from other buildings, would have appeared amongst us all at once, in a regular and perfect form. But what absolutely decides this question is, the proof brought by Bentham and Grose, that, throughout all Syria, Arabia, &c. there is not a Gothic building to be discovered, except such as were raised by the Latin Christians subsequent to the perfection of that style in Europe. A

^b Life of William of Wykeham.

still more extraordinary, or rather extravagant theory, than that which has been confuted, is advanced by bishop Warburton^c. He supposes that the "Goths who conquered Spain in 470, becoming Christians, endeavoured to build their churches in imitation of the spreading and interlacing boughs of the groves in which they had been accustomed to perform their Pagan rites in their native country of Scandinavia, and that they employed for this purpose Saracen architects, whose exotic style suited their purpose." The Visigoths conquered Spain and became Christians in the fifth century; of course they began at the same time to build churches there. The Saracens did not arrive in Spain until the eighth century; when, instead of building churches, they destroyed them or turned them into mosques. In every point of view this theory ascribes to the pointed architecture too early a date by a great many centuries. But supposing even the possibility of its having lain hidden there for so long a period, certain it is, that in this case, according to our former observation, it would at last have burst upon the rest of Europe in a state of perfection, contrary to what every one knows was actually the case.

^c Notes on Pope's Epistles.—See Captain Grose's Essay, p. 120.

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But why need we recur to the caravanseries of Arabia, or to the forests of Scandinavia, for a discovery, the gradations of which we trace at home, in an age of improvement and magnificence, namely, the twelfth century, and amongst a people who were superior in arts as well as arms to all those above mentioned, namely, the Normans? About the time we are speaking of, many illustrious prelates of that nation, chiefly in our own country, exhausted their talents and wealth in carrying the magnificence of their churches and other buildings to the greatest height possible. Amongst these were Roger of Sarum, Alexander of Lincoln, Mauritius of London, and Roger of York, each of whose successive improvements were of course adopted by the rest; nevertheless, there is reason to doubt whether any or all of them contributed so much as our Henry of Winchester did to those improvements which gradually changed the Norman into the Gothic architecture.

We have remarked that the Normans, affecting height in their churches no less than length, were accustomed to pile arches and pillars upon each other, sometimes to the height of three stories, as we see in Walkelin's work in our cathedral. They frequently imitated these arches and pillars in the masonry of their plain walls, and, by way of ornament and variety,

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they sometimes caused these plain round arches to intersect each other, as we behold in the said prelate's work, on the upper part of the south transept of Winchester cathedral, being probably the earliest instance of this interesting ornament to be met with in the kingdom. They were probably not then aware of the happy effect of this intersection, in forming the pointed arch, until De Blois, having resolved to ornament the whole sanctuary of the church, at present under consideration, with these intersecting semicircles, after richly embellishing them with mouldings and pellet ornaments, conceived the idea of opening them by way of windows, to the number of four over the altar, and of eight on each side of the choir, which at once produced a series of highly pointed arches. Pleased with the effect of this first essay at the east end, we may suppose that he tried the effect of that form in various other windows and arches which we find amongst many of the same date that are circular in various parts of the church and tower. However that matter may be, and wherever the pointed arch was first produced, its gradual ascent naturally led to a long and narrow form of window and arch, instead of the broad circular ones which had hitherto obtained; and these required that the pillars on which they rested, or which were placed at their

their sides by way off ornament, should be proportionably tall and slender. Hence it became necessary to choose a material of firm texture for composing them, which occasioned the general adoption of Purbeck marble for this purpose. But even this substance being found too weak to support the incumbent weight, occasioned the shafts to be multiplied, and thus produced the cluster column. But to return to the arches and windows; these being in general very narrow, at the first discovery of the pointed arch, as we see in the ruins of Hyde abbey^d, built within thirty years after St. Cross^e; in the refectory of Beaulieu, raised by king John; and in the inside of the tower before us, built by De Blois himself, it became necessary sometimes to place two of these windows close to each other, which not unfrequently stood under one common arch, as may be discovered in different parts of De Lucy's work in our cathedral, executed in the reign of king John, and in the lower tire of the windows in the church of Netley abbey. This disposition of two lights occasioning a dead space between their heads, a trefoil or quatrefoil, one of the simplest and

^d In the part now used as a barn.

^e Namely, when erected the second time, after having been destroyed in the civil war between king Stephen and the empress Maud.

most ancient kind of ornaments, was introduced between them, as in the porch of Beaulieu refectory, the ornamental work of De Lucy, in the ancient part of the Lady chapel, Winton, and the west door of the present church of St. Cross. The happy effect of this simple ornament caused the upper part of it to be introduced into the heads of the arches themselves, so that there is hardly a small arch or the resemblance of an arch of any kind, from the days of Edward II. down to those of Henry VIII. which is not ornamented in this manner. The trefoil, by an easy addition, became a cinquefoil, and being made use of in circles and squares, produced fans and Catherine's wheels. In like manner, large east and west windows beginning to obtain about the reign of Edward I. required that they should have numerous divisions or mullions, which, as well as the ribs and transoms of the vaulting, began to ramify into a great variety of tracery, according to the architect's taste, being all of them uniformly ornamented with the trefoil or cinquefoil head. The pointed arch on the outside of a building required a canopy of the same form, which, in ornamental work, as in the tabernacle of a statue, mounted up ornamented with leaves or crockets, and terminated in a trefoil. In like manner, the buttresses that were necessary for the strength of these buildings could not finish, conformably to the general style of
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of the building, without tapering up into ornamented pinnacles. A pinnacle of a larger size became a spire; accordingly such were raised upon the square towers of former ages, where, as at Salisbury, the funds of the church and other circumstances would permit. Thus we see how naturally the several gradations of the pointed architecture arose one out of another, as we learn from history was actually the case, and how the intersecting of two circular arches in the church of St. Cross may perhaps have produced Salisbury steeple.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

FRONTISPIECE.

THIS curious and very elegant example is given as a specimen of the Saxon or circular style of architecture, and is taken from Mr. Wilkins's accurate print in the 12th volume of the *Archæologia*. The following is Mr. Wilkins's account of it :

“ On the east side of Norwich castle is a tower projecting 14 feet, by 27 in breadth, of a richer style of architecture, which I have ventured to call *Bigod's tower* ; it is decidedly of the taste in general use subsequent to the Conquest, and continued through great part of king Stephen's reign ; and it was most probably repaired and finished in its present style by Hugh Bigod, who succeeded his brother William in the constableship of the castle early in the twelfth century.” *Archæologia*, vol. xii. p. 162.

Mr. King, in a passage which Mr. Wilkins with great candour has subjoined, considers it as much older. “ There is indeed a trace of its having been built in its present form by Roger Bigod, about the time of William Rufus, and of its having been finally completed by Thomas de Brotherton, even so late as the time of Edward II. ; but I cannot help

suspecting all this to be a mistake ; for, though it may be true with regard to the outworks, and the many great buildings enclosed within the limits and outward walls of this castle, which were formerly very extensive and numerous, that a great part of them were built and completed by those two powerful lords ; yet, as to the keep, or master tower (the only considerable part now remaining), the style of its architecture is, in many respects, so different from that of the towers erected in the reigns of William Rufus, and Henry I. and II. and the ornaments are so different from those which were in use in the reign of Edward II. (when pointed arches had long been introduced, and were esteemed the most elegant of any), that I cannot but think the building of much greater antiquity, and completely Saxon, though it is possible the staircase might be repaired, or even rebuilt, by Thomas de Brotherton, whose arms are to be seen on a part of the wall. In short, as to the main body of the building, I take it to be the very tower which was erected about the time of king Canute, who, though himself a Dane, yet undoubtedly made use of many Saxon architects, as the far greater number of his subjects were Saxons ; and I am rather induced to form this conclusion, because I can find no *authentic* account whatever of the destruction of the castle built in Canute's time, either by war or by accident ; or of its being taken down in order to erect the present structure, as is supposed by some." *Observations on Ancient Castles. Archæologia, vol. iv. p. 396, 397.*

Mr. Wilkins further observes, "The ceiling of this tower is groined with intersecting arches of stone, and its angles are decorated with a very singular kind of hanging billet moulding, projecting ten inches from the ceiling. The first floor of Bigod's tower is a landing from the great staircase, and forms a kind of open portico to the entrance of the building; and a superb entrance it must have been at that time! The piers are enriched with groups of small columns, supporting arches ornamented with archivolt of mouldings enriched with billetting."

PLATE II.

Specimen of the *cheveron-work*, or *zig-zag* ornament, in various positions. This is an arched entrance to the north isle of the nave of Peterborough cathedral, with the plan applied perspectively. Here also are specimens of Saxon capitals.

PLATE III.

VARIOUS ORNAMENTS.

Fig. 1. The *embattled frette*, taken from an arch within the church at Sandwich, Kent; and to be found in most of our ancient cathedrals.

Fig.

- Fig. 2.* The *nail head*, taken from arches at Ely.
3. The *triangular frette*, taken from an arch at Ely.
 4. The *billeted moulding*, taken from the ruins of Binham priory, Norfolk, built by Peter lord Valoins, nephew to William the Conqueror.
 5. The *nebule*. This is taken from an ornamented fascia under the parapet of the north and south sides of Binham priory.
 6. Section of the same.
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PLATE IV.

VARIOUS ORNAMENTS.

- Fig. 1.* The *hatched moulding*, used as a string course.
2. A column of *hatched work*, in the upper walk of the north transept of Norwich cathedral: the plan is octagonal, and nine inches diameter.
 3. Half the design of a range of curious intersecting arches over the west entrance of the church at Castle Rising in Norfolk. This elegant specimen gives a very good idea of the *corbel table*, if, instead of the pillars and capitals, are substituted the heads of men or animals in the places of the capitals.

Fig.

Fig. 4. Saxon intersecting arches, used to adorn inside walls, &c. The circular vestibule to the Temple church, London, has a curious specimen of this kind.

5. A specimen of *zig-zag* moulding, with a kind of square *billet* moulding, to be found in various old cathedrals. This is taken from a small arch which divides the nave from the chancel at Ely.

6. The billet ornament to a larger scale.

7. One of the arches in perspective in the upper walk in the nave of Norwich cathedral. The window is pointed, consequently of modern date.

This exhibits an elegant specimen of the circular or Saxon style, with the billet moulding; also a spiral band round one of the columns.



PLATE V.

VARIOUS ORNAMENTS.

Fig. 1. Various specimens of the *nebule*. Part of an arch, formerly an entrance on the south side of St. Julian's church in Norwich, probably executed before the Conquest, as the church was founded before that time. It is four feet six inches diameter within.

Fig.

- Fig. 2.* This elegant piece represents an assemblage of many ornaments peculiar to the more ancient or Saxon style. In the arch is the cable, the billet, the zig-zag, and again another kind of cable moulding. The capitals are Saxon, and the columns are variously ornamented. This is part of the south entrance to Wimboldsham church, in Norfolk. The columns seven inches diameter.
- 3, 4, 5, 6. Horizontal mouldings with ornaments, which are to be met with in Herringfleet, Gisleham, and some few other churches in Suffolk.
7. The east end of the old conventual church at Ely, built in the time of the Heptarchy, A. D. 673, and repaired in king Edgar's reign, A. D. 970. (See page 54.)

PLATE VI.

Two of the piers of the ruined chapel at Orford in Suffolk, with their plans : also the arch mouldings.

“ The founder of this chapel and the date of its construction are both forgotten, but, from the style of the chancel, appears to be of great antiquity ; it has a double row of thick columns supporting circular arches, their height equal to their circumference,

ference, each measuring about 12 feet. Their surfaces are ornamented in various manners; and what is extraordinary, the opposite ones are not alike; some having a small cylindrical moulding twisting spirally round them; some are crossed lozenge fashion, being reticulated by an embossed net-work; and others, which are square, have small columns at each of their angles." *Große.*

All the foregoing examples are taken from the 12th volume of the *Archæologia*, except fig. 1, plate iv. fig. 4, plate v. and fig. 7, plate v. which is taken from Mr. Bentham's plan of the old cathedral church at Ely.

PLATE VII.

The upper part of one of the west towers of York cathedral; which is given as a most elegant example of the modern Norman or florid style. This is copied from Mr. Malton's elegant and accurate print of the west front of York minster.

The following plates, VIII. IX. X. are from drawings made by Mr. Cave of Winchester, the subjects selected and explained by the Rev. Mr. Milner,

Milner, and are intended to mark the rise and progress of the pointed arch.

References to the Plates illustrating the Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch.

PLATE VIII.

Fig. 1. Saxon piers and arches in the crypts or subterraneous chapels under the east end of Winchester cathedral. These are demonstratively genuine Saxon workmanship, and prior to the Conquest, having been constructed by bishop St. Ethelwold, and finished in the year 980. The arches are segments of a circle, supporting a plain vaulting, without ribs or other ornaments. The pilasters or piers are square, with two massive columns in the middle of the main crypt, serving as buttments to all the arches, with a circular member under a square abacus. The bases are supposed to be buried several feet under the earth, which has been accumulating upon the floor of the crypts during almost three centuries. There are doorways leading from the centre crypt into those of the side isles, and others at the eastern extremity. In one of these, on the south side, is a well which formerly supplied all the water that was used in divine service.

Fig. A is a plan of the crypt.

Fig.

Fig. 2. A double Saxon or Norman arch, which formed the portal of the ancient sacristy, between the east cloister door and the south transept in Winchester cathedral, being the work of bishop Walkelin, cousin to William the Conqueror, and finished by him in the year 1093. The design and execution of this portal indicate the improved style of the Norman architects, in the loftiness of the arches, the greater regularity of the capitals and bases, together with the ornamental style of the pilasters, which are fluted, and of the arches, which are enriched with the lozenge, the billet, the chevron, and other plain mouldings.

3. A specimen of a double arch in the second story of the transept in the same cathedral. In this manner of open work the corresponding second story of the whole church, between the lower and the upper range of windows, was constructed by the Normans, to avoid the nakedness of plain walls, carrying up their work to the height of three stories; whilst the churches of the Saxons for the most part consisted of a single story.
4. Intersecting round arches without pillars or mouldings, by way of ornament to the upper part of the south transept of the cathedral,

cathedral, on the outside. These being part of the original work, constructed before the year 1093^f, are prior to the first crusade, and afford perhaps the earliest authentic specimen of the pointed arch to be met with in the kingdom.



PLATE IX.

Fig. 1. Intersecting circular arches, supported by Saxon pilasters, both richly ornamented, forming perfect pointed arches. The intersections, which are open through the whole thickness of the wall, constitute the windows, to the number of twenty, which enlighten the chancel in the church of St. Cross, near Winchester. This being the eastern end of the sacred fabric, where the high altar stood, and of course first finished, must have been constructed in the reign of Henry I.^g

^f The cathedral and adjoining monastery, which were begun to be rebuilt by Walkelin in 1079, were finished by him and solemnly dedicated in the aforesaid year 1093, three years before the first crusade. *Annales Winton.*

^g Godwin. de Angl. Præsul. ascribes the construction of St. Cross, by bishop Henry de Blois, to the year 1132; Lowth, in his *Life of Wykeham* from original papers, to 1136. Probably it was begun in the *former* year and finished in the latter. Henry I. died in 1135.

Fig.

Fig. 2. Two highly pointed arches, without the appearance of circular interfections, ornamented with zig-zag and other Saxon mouldings, and supported by Saxon pilasters, in the south transept of the said church of St. Crofs, illustrating the gradations by which the Saxon style was transformed into the pointed or Gothic. This part of the church must have been built soon after the east end.

3. Massive Saxon columns, with capitals and bases in the same style, supporting pointed arches, throughout the whole western nave of the same church; by way of further illustrating the aforesaid transformation. It appears that this part of the church also was erected toward the close of the reign of Henry I.^h
4. The great western portal of the church of St. Crofs, being an elegant specimen of the early pointed or Gothic style, in a complete state, as it prevailed in the reign of king Johnⁱ, and the early part of that of Henry III. It consists of a double arch with trefoil heads, and an open

^h What is here said applies only to the lower story of the church. The windows of the upper part, together with the groining of the nave, and the west window and door, bear demonstrative proofs of alterations subsequent to that period.

ⁱ Witness the cloisters and refectory of Beaulieu abbey in the New Forest, erected by that monarch, and bishop De Lucy's works in Winchester cathedral.

quatrefoil in the centre above them, forming all together one elegant pointed arch, which rests upon four slender columns, with neat plain capitals and bases. The arched moulding that rests upon the inward pillars, consisting of the cup of a flower inverted, in open carved work, is an appropriate ornament of the pointed order, being different from every kind of Saxon moulding. We have here also one of the first specimens of a canopy over a pointed arch, which afterwards became so important a member in this style of architecture. The present canopy is a plain weather moulding, of the same angle with the arch itself, and rests, by way of corbels, on two flowers, instead of human heads, though an ornament of the latter kind is seen in the open space, just above the centre column. It may be looked upon as certain, that this ornamented portal is not coeval with the rest of the lower part of the church, and from its style we may safely pronounce that it was altered to its present form about the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Fig. 5. The great west window of the same church, being divided by simple mullions into five principal lights, the wheel above and other intermediate spaces being filled with ornamental trefoils. This appears to be
one

one of the earliest specimens of a great west window, before transoms and ramified mullions were introduced; and therefore the western end of the church must have been altered to receive this and the door beneath it about the time above mentioned; the eastern extremity of the church being left (as it still continues) in its original state^k. There is a plain canopy, without any appearance of a pediment, over the arch of this window, like that over the portal. The chief improvement is, that it rests, in the present instance, on corbel heads; namely, those of a king and a bishop.

PLATE X.

Fig. 1. Clusters of slender insulated columns of Purbeck marble, with plain neat capitals and bases, supporting long lancet-fashioned windows; such as began to be in use at the latter end of the twelfth century, and occur

^k Bentham, whose authority is unquestionably the greatest amongst those who have treated of these subjects, says, that "great eastern and western windows became fashionable about the latter end of the reign of Edward I. and in that of Edward II." (p. 83, 84): he does not, however, by this deny that such comparatively plain western windows as this of St. Cross might have been made in the reign of Henry III.

both on the outside and the inside of bishop De Lucy's work at the eastern end of Winchester cathedral.

Fig. 2. A cinquefoil arch, supported by short Purbeck columns, over an altar tomb in the northern isle of the church of St. Cross, which, by different signs, appears to have been erected about the middle of the thirteenth century. The canopy, though it does not rise to a pediment, is adorned with crockets and a finial.

3. The tabernacle containing the statue of bishop William of Wykeham, in the middle tower of St. Mary's college, Winchester. The canopy, ornamented with elegant mouldings and crockets, branches out from side buttresses, and forms a pediment which terminates in a pinnacle¹. Other

¹ The present canopy, though of a moderate height, is low compared with those which had prevailed during the preceding century, when they proceeded in straight lines from the side buttresses, until they converged in a lofty pinnacle of the acute angle, such as is seen at Westminster abbey, in the monuments of Edmund Crouchback, who died in 1296, and of John of Eltham, who died in 1334; also in the stall-work of Winchester cathedral. During the latter part of the reign of Edward III. the canopies began to be reduced in their height, by being curved towards the arches which they covered, as may be seen on the monuments of queen Philippa, who died in 1399, of Edward himself, who departed this life in 1377, of Sir Bernard Brocas, executed in 1399, all of which are in Westminster abbey; likewise in the chantry of Wykeham at Winchester, and generally in all canopies constructed after the period above assigned.

pinnacles crown the two buttresses themselves. The inside of the canopy is vaulted with tracery work, which springs from columns that rest on corbels. This tabernacle was probably constructed by the founder himself in his lifetime, near the close of the fourteenth century.

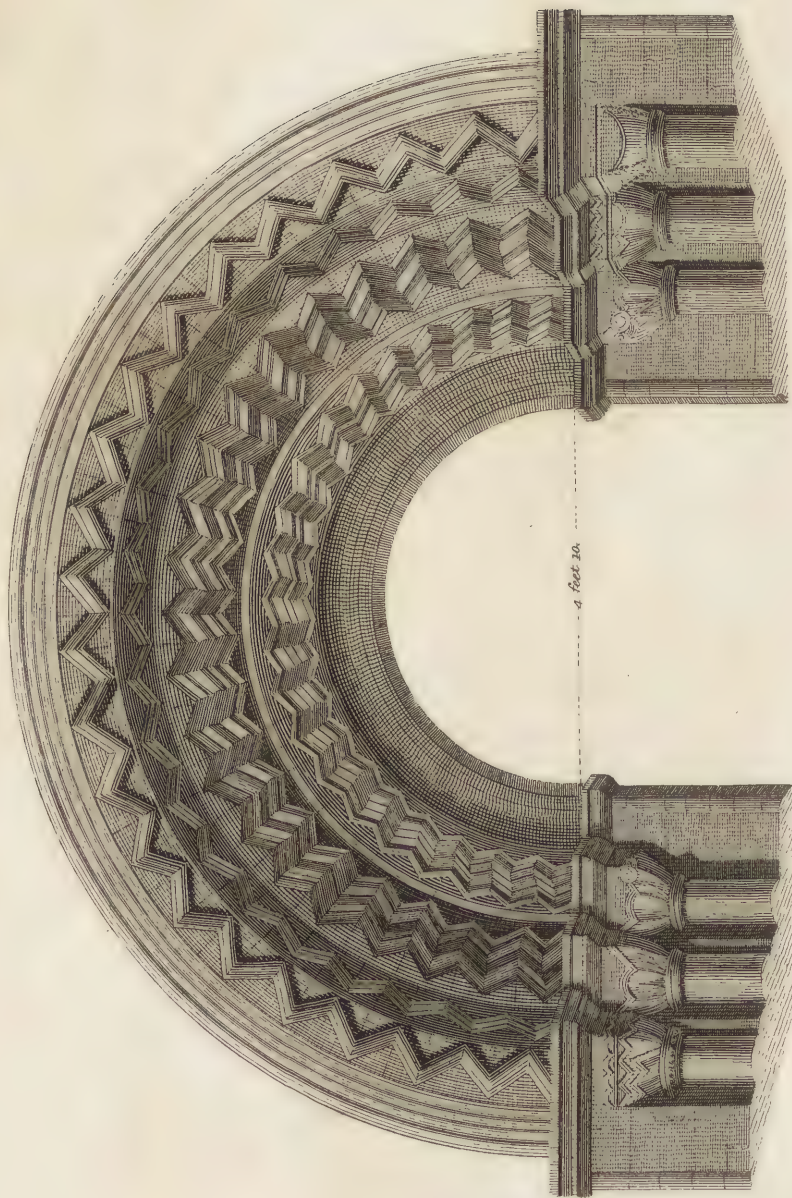
Fig. 4. A portion of the gorgeous fretwork in the upper story of the altar screen of Winchester cathedral, consisting of columns, buttresses, pinnacles, niches, tabernacles, canopies, tracery work, groining, pendants, fascias, finials, &c. all of the richest designs and most exquisite workmanship, constituting the *ne plus ultra* of ornaments in miniature, belonging to the pointed order. The screen was finished by bishop Fox in 1525.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 70, line 14, for "in Saxon," read, "in the Saxon."^a
— 125, — 10, for "seem," read, "seems."

North Entrance to Peterborough Cathedral.



Published by J. Taylor High Holborn London.

Various Ornaments.

Plate 3.

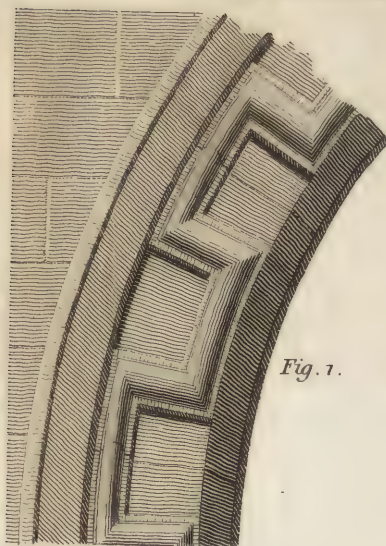


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

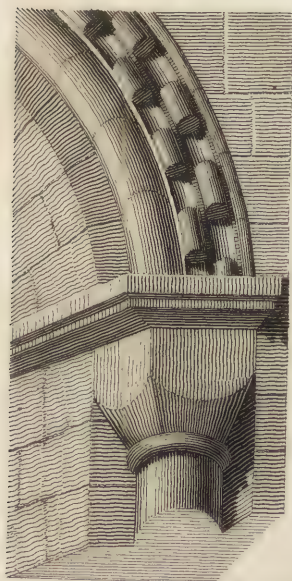


Fig. 4.

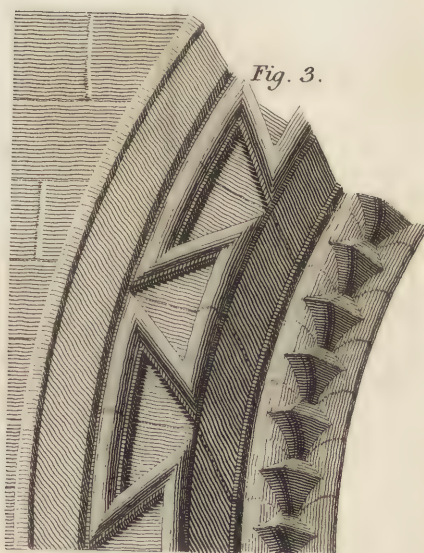


Fig. 5.



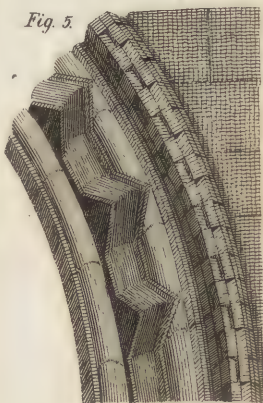
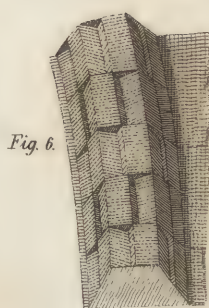
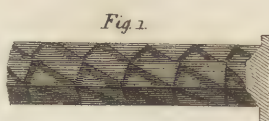
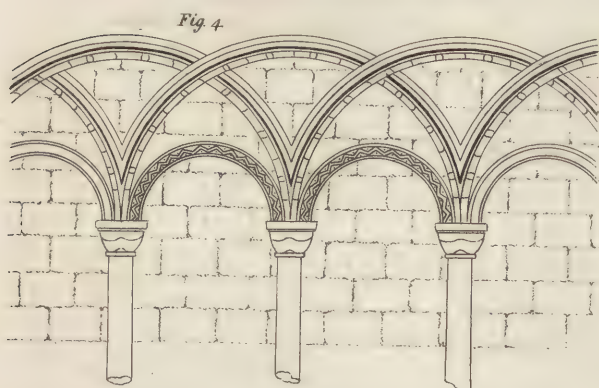
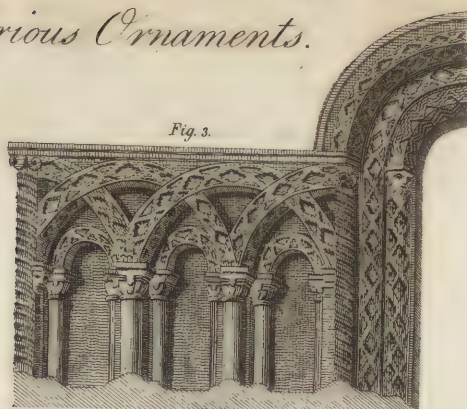
Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

Various Ornaments.

Plate 4



Various Ornaments.

Plate 5.

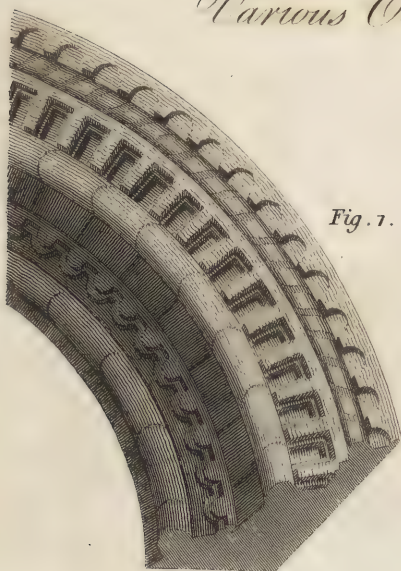


Fig. 1.

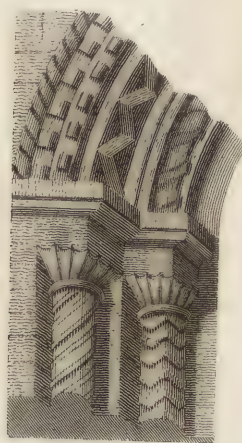


Fig. 2.

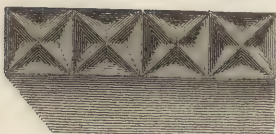


Fig. 3.

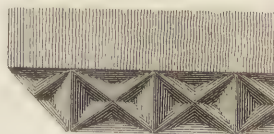


Fig. 4.

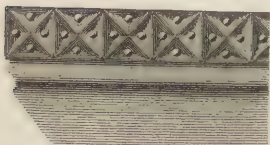


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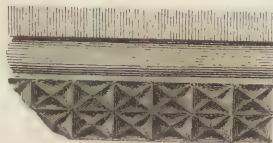


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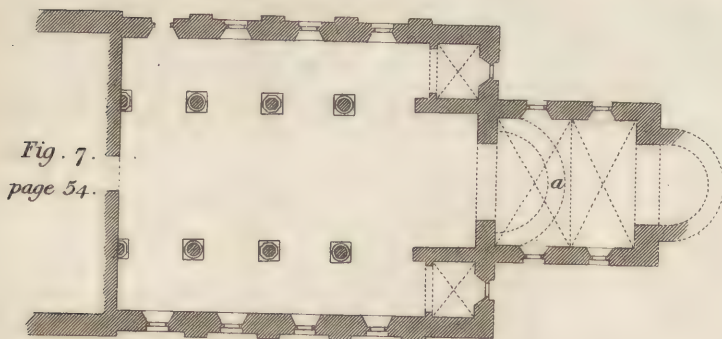
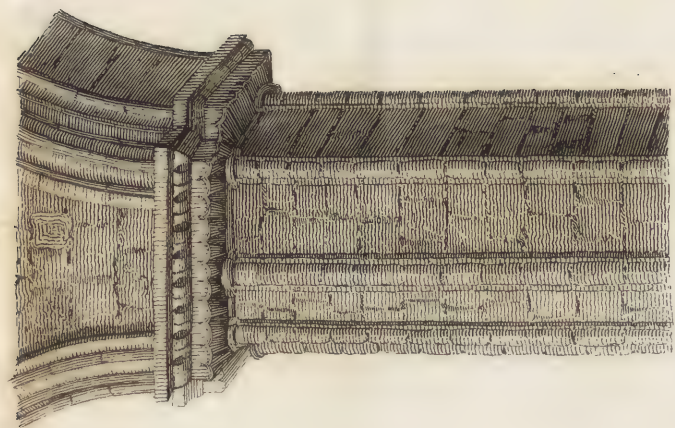


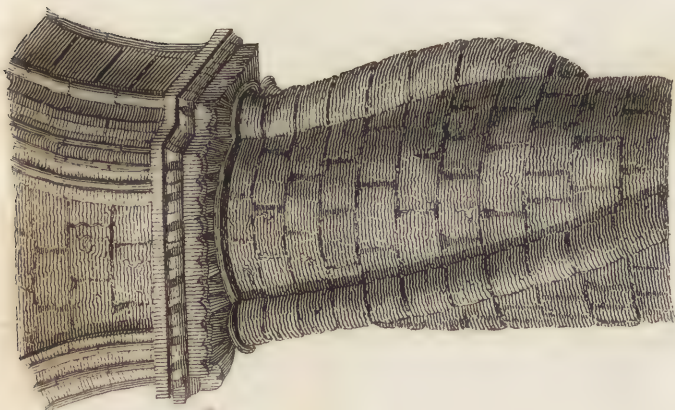
Fig. 7.
page 54.

5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 Scale to the Plan.

Published by J. Taylor High Holborn, London.



Plan



Plan

Tower of York Minster.

Plate 7.





Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch.

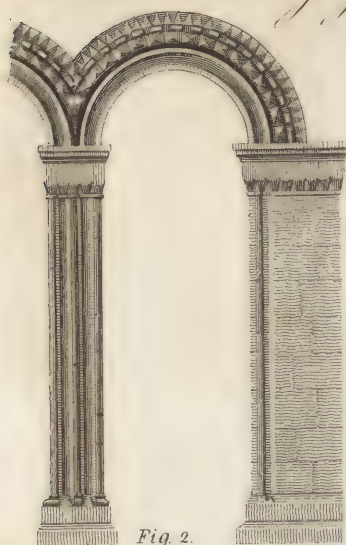


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

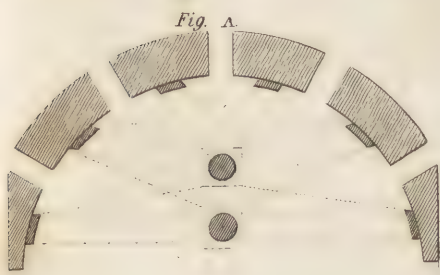


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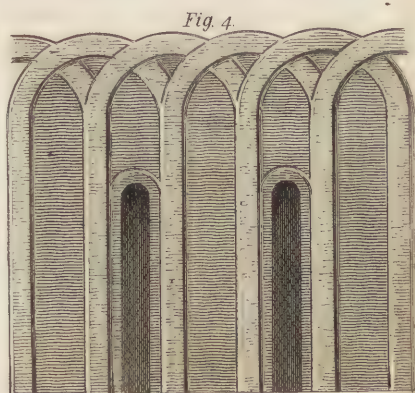


Fig. 4.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

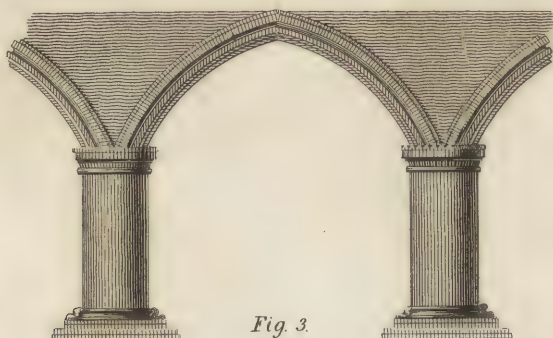


Fig. 3



Fig. 5

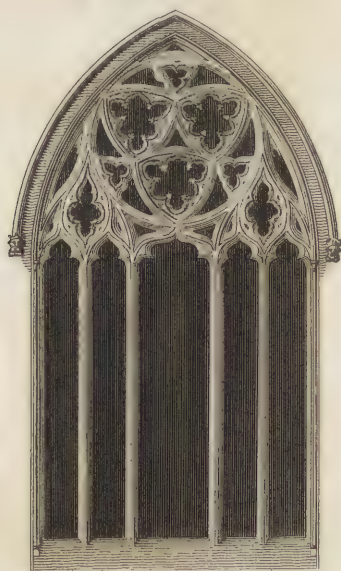


Fig. 4

Rise and Progress of the Pointed Arch.

Plate 10.

Fig. 1.

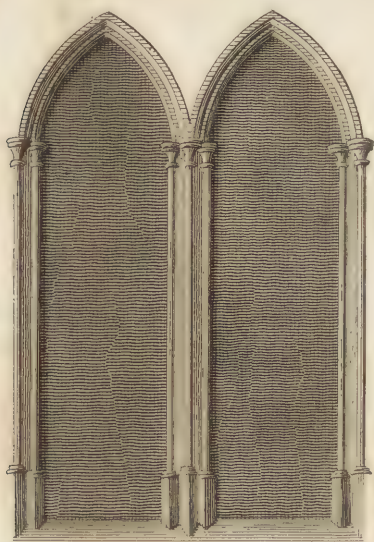


Fig. 2.

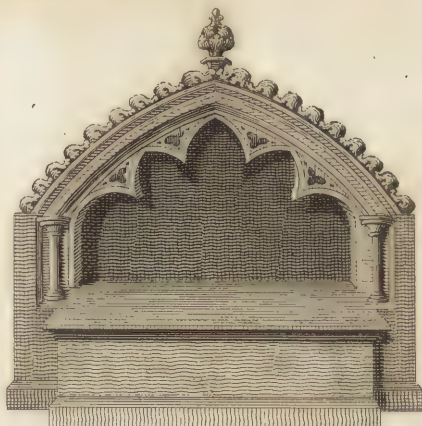
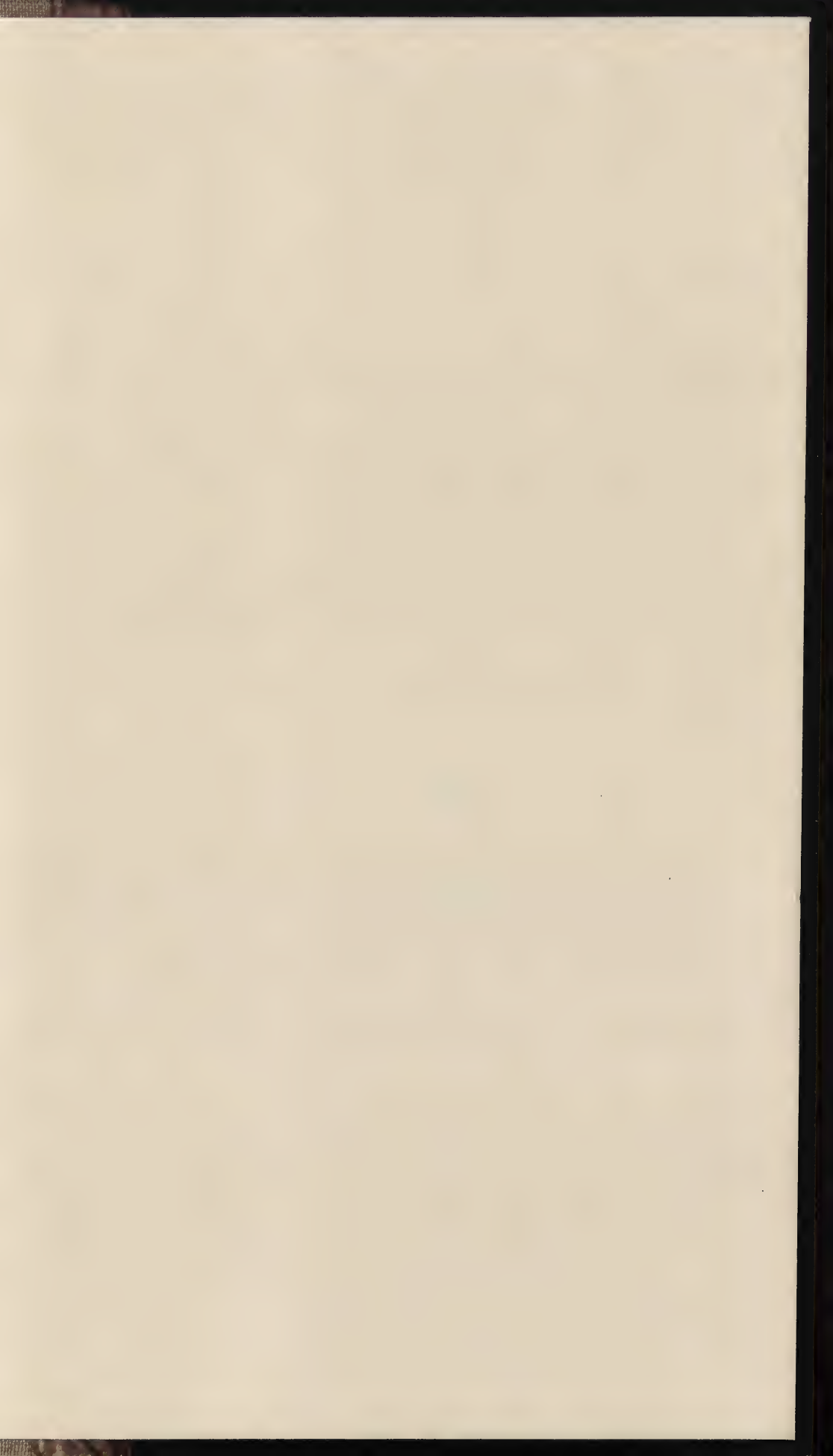


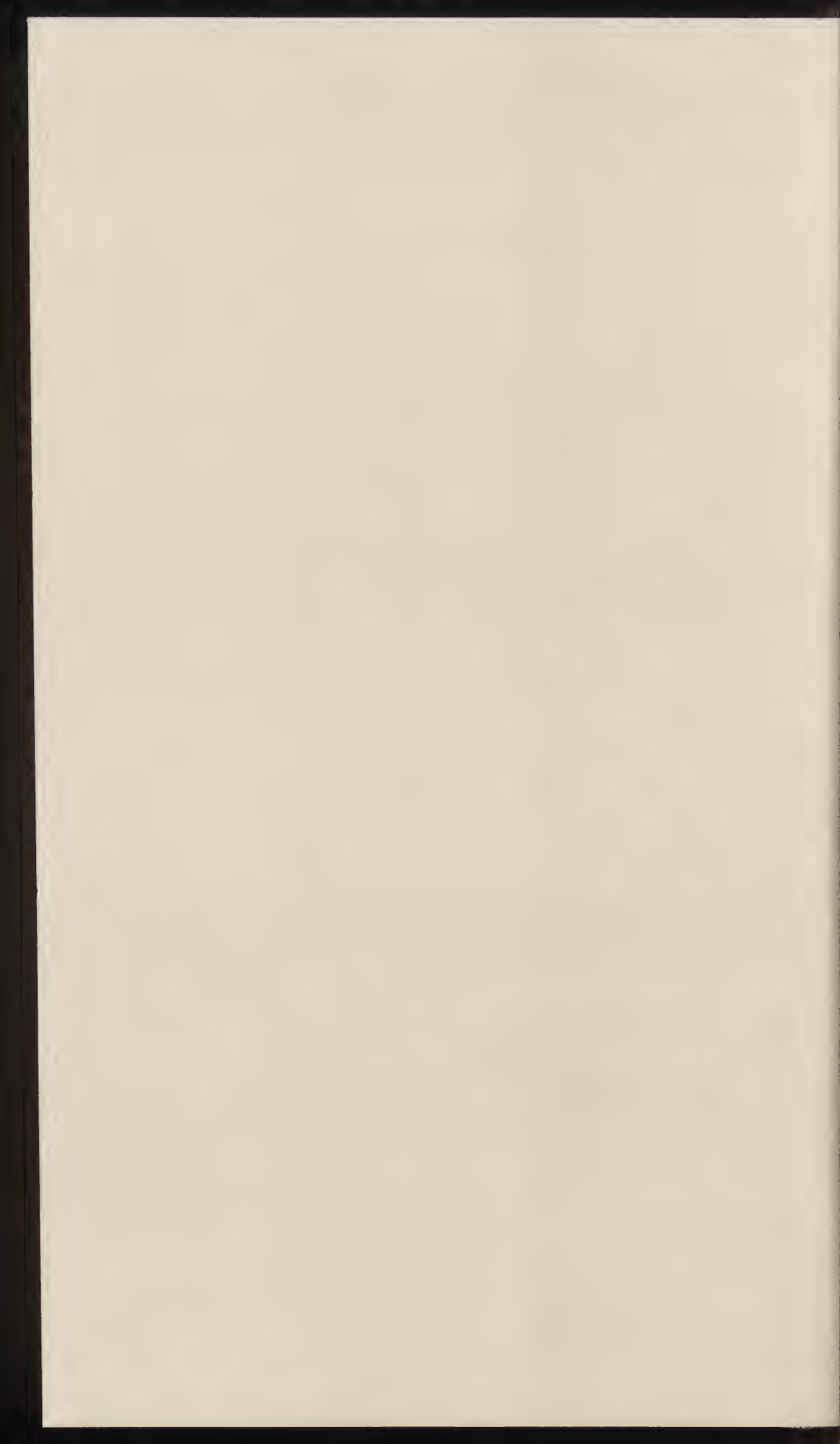
Fig. 3.

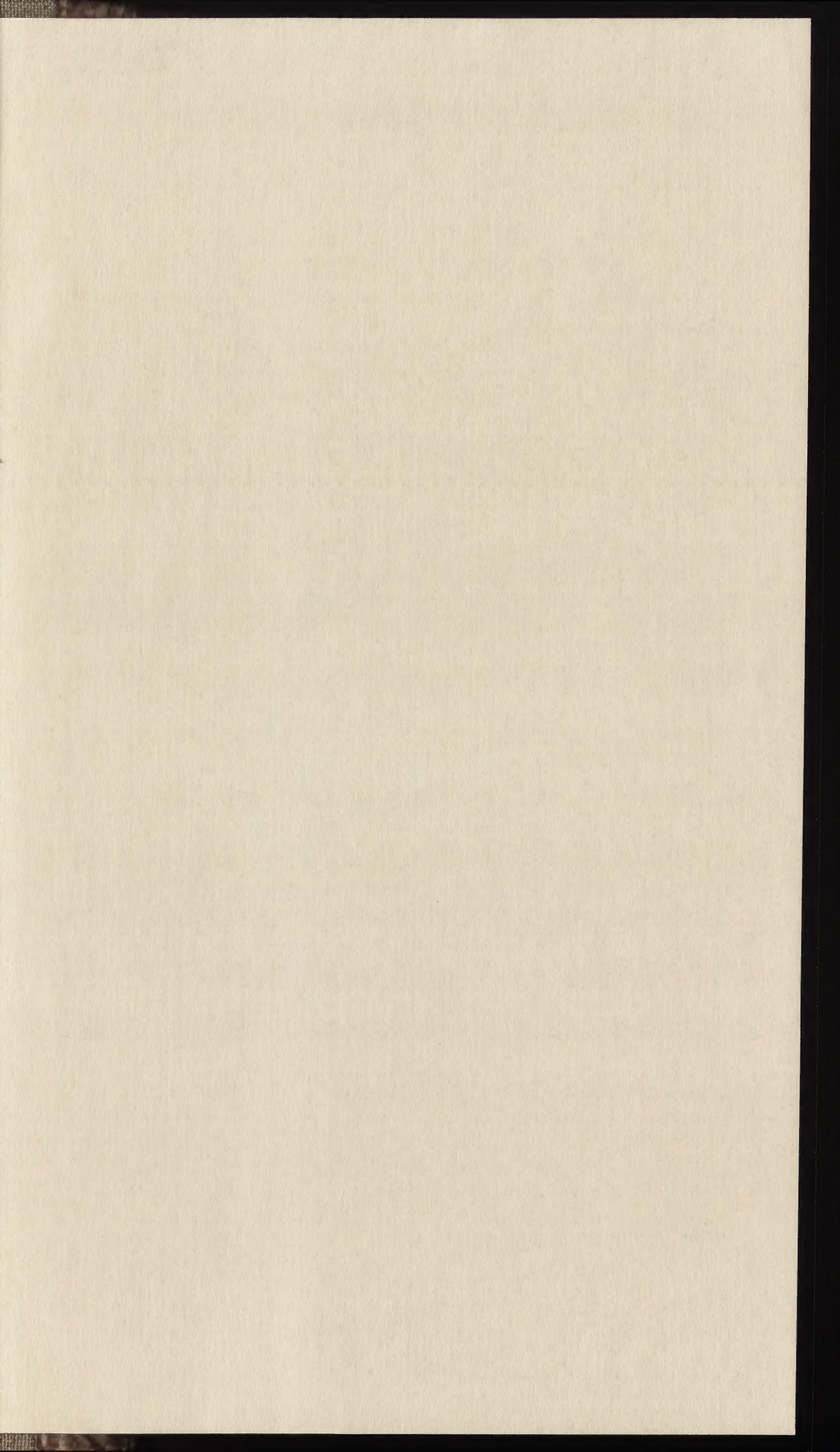


Fig. 4.









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